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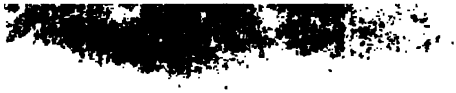
DR SWIFT'S WORKS,

COMPLETE

IN EIGHTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. II.



DR SWIFT'S WORKS,

COMPLETE

IN EIGHTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

THE

WORKS

OF

JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN:

INCLUDING THE WHOLE OF HIS

POSTHUMOUS PIECES, LETTERS, &c.

A NEW EDITION,

ACCURATELY REVISED, AND ARRANGED IN THE MOST NATURAL AND PROPER ORDER;

WITH

An Account of the AUTHOR'S LIFE,

AND

NOTES HISTORICAL, CRITICAL, AND EXPLANATORY,

By J. HAWKESWORTH, LL.D. and others.

ADORNED WITH COPPERPLATES.

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The Bookseller's Advertisement.

THE following diſcourſe came into my hands perfect and entire. But there being ſeveral things in it which the preſent age would not very well bear, I kept it by me ſome years, reſolving it ſhould never ſee the light. At length, by the advice and aſſiſtance of a judicious friend, I retrenched thoſe parts that might give moſt offence, and have now ventured to publiſh the remainder. Concerning the author, I am wholly ignorant: Neither can I conjecture, whether it be the ſame with that of the two foregoing pieces; the original having been ſent me at a different time, and in a different hand. The learned reader will better determine; to whoſe judgment I entirely ſubmit it.

A

DISCOURSE

CONCERNING THE

MECHANICAL OPERATION of the SPIRIT.*

For T. H. Esq; † at his chambers in the academy of the Beaux-Esprits in New England.

SIR,

IT is now a good while since I have had in my head something, not only very material, but absolutely necessary to my health, that the world should be informed in. For, to tell you a secret, I am able to *contain* it no longer.

 However,

* This discourse is not altogether equal to the former, the best parts of it being omitted. Whether the bookseller's account be true, that he durst not print the rest, I know not: nor indeed is it easy to determine, whether he may be relied on in any thing he says of this, or the former treatises, only as to the time they were writ in: which, however, appears more from the discourses themselves, than his relation.

This discourse is a satire against enthusiasm, and those affected inspirations, which constantly begin in folly, and very often end in vice. In this treatise, the author has revelled in too licentious a vein of sarcasm: many of his ideas are nauseous, some are indecent, and others have an irreligious tendency. Nor is the piece itself equal in wit and humour, either to *The Tale of a Tub*, or *The Battle of the Books*. I should constantly chuse rather to praise, than to arraign any part of Swift's writings: but in those tracts where he tries to make us uneasy with ourselves, and unhappy in our present existence, *there* I must yield him up entirely to censure. *Orrery.*

† Supposed to be Col. Hunter.

However, I have been perplexed for ſome time to reſolve what would be the moſt proper form t ſend it abroad in. To which end, I have bee three days courſing through Weſtminſter-hal and St. Paul's church-yard, and Fleet-ſtreet, t peruſe *titles;* and I do not find any which hold ſo general a vogue, as that of *A letter to a friend* Nothing is more common than to meet with lon epiſtles addreſſed to perſons and places, where, a firſt thinking, one would be apt to imagine it no altogether ſo neceſſary or convenient; ſuch as, *neighbour at next door, a mortal enemy, a perfect ſtranger,* or *a perſon of quality in the clouds;* an theſe upon ſubjects, in appearance, the leaſt pro per for conveyance by the poſt; as, *long ſchem in philoſophy, dark and wonderful myſteries of ſtat laborious diſſertations in criticiſm and philoſophy, ad vice to parliaments,* and the like.

Now, Sir, to proceed after the method in pre ſent wear: (for, let me ſay what I will to th contrary, I am afraid you will publiſh this *letter* as ſoon as ever it comes to your hand:) I deſir you will be my witneſs to the world, how carele and ſudden a ſcribble it has been; that it was bu yeſterday, when you and I began accidentally t fall into diſcourſe on this matter; that I was no very well when we parted; that the poſt is i ſuch haſte, I have had no manner of time to di geſt it into order, or correct the ſtyle; and any other modern excuſes, for haſte and negli gence, ſhall occur to you in reading, I beg yo

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to inſert them, faithfully promiſing they ſhall be thankfully acknowledged.

Pray, Sir, in your next letter to the *Iroquois virtuoſi*, do me the favour to preſent my humble ſervice to that illuſtrious body; and aſſure them, I ſhall ſend an account of thoſe *phænomena*, as ſoon as we can determine them at Greſham.

I have not had a line from the *literati* of Tobinambou theſe three laſt ordinaries.

And now, Sir, having diſpatched what I had to ſay, of forms, or of buſineſs, let me intreat, you will ſuffer me to proceed upon my ſubject; and to pardon me, if I make no further uſe of the epiſtolary ſtyle, till I come to conclude.

SECT. I.

IT is recorded of Mahomet, that, upon a viſit he was going to pay in Paradiſe, he had an offer of ſeveral vehicles to conduct him upwards; as fiery chariots, winged horſes, and celeſtial ſedans: but he refuſed them all, and would be borne to heaven upon nothing but his *aſs*. Now, this inclination of Mahomet, as ſingular as it ſeems, hath been ſince taken up by a great number of devout *Chriſtians*; and doubtleſs with very good reaſon. For ſince that Arabian is known to have borrowed a moiety of his religious ſyſtem from the *Chriſtian* faith, it is but juſt he ſhould pay repriſals to ſuch as would challenge them; where-

in the good people of England, to do them all right, have not been backward. For though there is not any other nation in the world ſo plentifully provided with carriages for that journey, either as to ſafety or eaſe, yet there are abundance of us, who will not be ſatisfied with any other machine, beſides this of Mahomet.

For my own part, I muſt confeſs to bear a very ſingular reſpect to this animal, by whom I take human nature to be moſt admirably held forth, in all its qualities, as well as operations: and, therefore, whatever in my ſmall reading occurs, concerning this our fellow-creature, I do never fail to ſet it down by way of common-place; and, when I have occaſion to write upon human reaſon, politics, eloquence, or knowledge, I lay my *memorandums* before me, and inſert them with a wonderful facility of application. However, among all the qualifications aſcribed to this diſtinguiſhed brute, by ancient or modern authors, I cannot remember this talent, of bearing his rider to heaven, has been recorded for a part of his character, except in the two examples mentioned already. Therefore, I conceive the methods of this art to be a point of uſeful knowledge in very few hands, and which the learned world would gladly be better informed in: this is what I have undertaken to perform in the following diſcourſe. For towards the operation already mentioned, many peculiar properties are required, both

in

in the *rider* and the *aſs*; which I ſhall endeavour to ſet in as clear a light as I can.

But, becauſe I am reſolved, by all means, to avoid giving offence to any party whatever, I will leave off diſcourſing ſo cloſely to the *letter* as I have hitherto done, and go on for the future by way of allegory, though in ſuch a manner, that the judicious reader may, without much ſtraining, make his applications, as often as he ſhall think fit. Therefore, if you pleaſe, from henceforward, inſtead of the term *aſs*, we ſhall make uſe of *gifted*, or *enlightened teacher*; and the word *rider* we will exchange for that of *fanatic auditory*, or any other denomination of the like import. Having ſettled this weighty point, the great ſubject of enquiry before us, is, to examine, by what methods this *teacher* arrives at his *gifts*, or *ſpirit*, or *light*; and by what intercourſe between him and his aſſembly it is cultivated and ſupported.

In all my writings, I have had conſtant regard to this great end, not to ſuit and apply them to particular occaſions, and circumſtances of time, of place, or of perſon; but to calculate them for univerſal nature, and mankind in general. And of ſuch catholic uſe I eſteem this preſent diſquiſition: for I do not remember any other temper of body, or quality of mind, wherein all nations and ages of the world have ſo unanimouſly agreed, as that of a *fanatic* ſtrain, or tincture of *enthuſiaſm*; which, improved by certain perſons or ſocieties of men, and by them practiſed upon the reſt,

reſt, has been able to produce revolutions of the greateſt figure in hiſtory; as will ſoon appear to thoſe who know any thing of Arabia, Perſia, India, or China, of Morocco and Peru. Farther, it has poſſeſſed as great a power in the kingdom of knowledge, where it is hard to aſſign one art or ſcience, which has not annexed to it ſome *fanatic* branch: ſuch are the *philoſopher's ſtone*, *the grand elixir* *, *the planetary worlds*, *the ſquaring of the circle*, *the ſummum bonum*, *Utopian commonwealths*, with ſome others of leſs or ſubordinate note; which all ſerve for nothing elſe, but to employ or amuſe this grain of *enthuſiaſm*, dealt into every compoſition.

But if this plant has found a root in the fields of *Empire* and of *Knowledge*, it has fixed deeper, and ſpread yet farther upon *holy ground:* wherein, though it hath paſſed under the general name of *enthuſiaſm*, and perhaps ariſen from the ſame original, yet hath it produced certain branches of a very different nature, however often miſtaken for each other. The word, in its univerſal acceptation, may be defined, *A lifting up of the ſoul, or its faculties, above matter.* This deſcription will hold good in general: but I am only to underſtand it as applied to *religion;* wherein there are three general ways of ejaculating the ſoul, or tranſporting it beyond the ſphere of matter. The firſt is the immediate act of God, and is called *prophecy* or *inſpiration.* The ſecond is the immediate

* Some writers hold them for the ſame, others not.

diate act of the devil, and is termed *poſſeſſion*. The third is the product of natural cauſes, the effect of ſtrong imagination, ſpleen, violent anger, fear, grief, pain, and the like. Theſe three have been abundantly treated on by authors, and therefore ſhall not employ my enquiry. But the fourth method of *religious enthuſiaſm*, or launching out of the ſoul, as it is purely an effect of *artifice* and *mechanic operation*, has been ſparingly handled, or not at all, by any writer; becauſe, though it is an art of great antiquity, yet, having been confined to few perſons, it long wanted thoſe advancements and refinements which it afterwards met with, ſince it has grown ſo epidemic, and fallen into ſo many cultivating hands.

It is therefore upon this *mechanical operation of the ſpirit* that I mean to treat, as it is at preſent performed by our *Britiſh workmen*. I ſhall deliver to the reader the reſult of many judicious obſervations upon the matter; tracing, as near as I can, the whole courſe and method of this *trade*; producing parallel inſtances, and relating certain diſcoveries that have luckily fallen in my way.

I have ſaid, that there is one branch of *religious enthuſiaſm*, which is purely an effect of nature; whereas the part I mean to handle, is wholly an effect of art, which, however, is inclined to work upon certain natures and conſtitutions, more than others. Beſides, there is many an operation, which, in its original, was purely an artifice; but, through a long ſucceſſion of ages, hath grown

to

to be natural. Hippocrates tells us, that among our anceſtors the Scythians, there was a nation called *Longheads*,*, which at firſt began by a cuſtom among midwives and nurſes, of moulding, and ſqueezing, and bracing up the heads of infants; by which means, nature, ſhut out at one paſſage, was forced to ſeek another, and, finding room above, ſhot upwards in the form of a ſugar-loaf; and being diverted that way, for ſome generations, at laſt found it out of herſelf, needing no aſſiſtance from the nurſe's hand. This was the original of the Scythian *Longheads*; and thus did cuſtom, from being a ſecond nature, proceed to be a firſt. To all which there is ſomething very analogous among us of this nation, who are the undoubted poſterity of that refined people. For, in the age of our fathers, there aroſe a generation of men in this iſland, called *Roundheads*, † whoſe race is now ſpread over three kingdoms; yet, in its beginning, was merely an operation of art, produced by a pair of ſciſſars, a ſqueeze of the face, and a black cap. Theſe heads, thus formed into a perfect ſphere in all aſſemblies, were moſt expoſed to the view of the female ſort; which

* Macrocephali.

† The Fanatics in the time of Charles I. ignorantly applying the text, *Ye know that it is a ſhame for men to have long hair*, cut their very ſhort. It is ſaid, that the Queen, once ſeeing Pym, a celebrated patriot, thus cropped, enquired who that *round-headed* man was; and that from this incident the diſtinction became general, and the party were called *Round-heads*. *Hawkeſ.*

which did influence their conceptions ſo effectually, that nature at laſt took the hint, and did it of herſelf; ſo that a *Round-head* has been, ever ſince, as familiar a ſight among us, as a *Long-head* among the Scythians.

Upon theſe examples, and others eaſy to produce, I deſire the curious reader to diſtinguiſh, firſt, between an effect grown from *art* into *nature*, and one that is natural from its beginning; ſecondly, between an effect wholly natural, and one which has only a natural foundation, but where the ſuperſtructure is entirely artificial. For the firſt and the laſt of theſe, I underſtand to come within the diſtricts of my ſubject. And having obtained theſe allowances, they will ſerve to remove any objection that may be raiſed hereafter againſt what I ſhall advance.

The practitioners of this famous art proceed in general upon the following fundamental, That *the corruption of the ſenſes is the generation of the ſpirit;* becauſe the ſenſes in men are ſo many avenues to the fort of *reaſon*, which in this operation is wholly blocked up. All endeavours muſt be therefore uſed, either to divert, bind up, ſtupify, fluſter, and amuſe the *ſenſes*, or elſe to juſtle them out of their ſtations; and, while they are either abſent, or otherwiſe employed, or engaged in a civil war againſt each other, the *ſpirit* enters, and performs its part.

Now, the uſual methods of managing the ſenſes upon ſuch conjunctures, are what I ſhall be very

ry particular in delivering, as far as it is lawful for me to do; but having had the honour to be initiated into the myſteries of every ſociety, I deſire to be excuſed from divulging any rites, wherein the *profane* muſt have no part.

But here, before I can proceed farther, a very dangerous objection muſt, if poſſible, be removed. For it is poſitively denied by certain critics, that the *ſpirit* can by any means be introduced into an aſſembly of modern ſaints; the diſparity being ſo great, in many material circumſtances, between the primitive way of inſpiration, and that which is practiſed in the preſent age. This they pretend to prove from the 2d chapter of the *Acts*, where, comparing both, it appears, firſt, that *the apoſtles were gathered together with one accord in one place*; by which is meant an univerſal agreement in opinion and form of worſhip; a harmony, ſay they, ſo far from being found between any two conventicles among us, that it is in vain to expect it between any two heads in the ſame. Secondly, The *ſpirit* inſtructed the apoſtles in the gift of ſpeaking ſeveral languages; a knowledge ſo remote from our dealers in this art, that they neither underſtand propriety of words, or phraſes, in their own. Laſtly, ſay theſe objectors, The modern artiſts do utterly exclude all approaches of the *ſpirit*, and bar up its ancient way of entering, by covering themſelves ſo cloſe, and ſo induſtriouſly a-top. For they will needs have it as a point clearly gained, that the *cloven tongues* never

never ſat upon the apoſtles heads, while there hats were on.

Now, the force of theſe objections ſeems to conſiſt in the different acceptation of the word *ſpirit*; which, if it be underſtood for a ſupernatural aſſiſtance, approaching from without, the objectors have reaſon, and their aſſertions may be allowed: but the *ſpirit* we treat of here, proceeding entirely from within, the argument of theſe adverſaries wholly is eluded. And, upon the ſame account, our modern artificers find it an expedient of abſolute neceſſity to cover their heads as cloſe as they can, in order to prevent perſpiration; than which, nothing is obſerved to be a greater ſpender of mechanic light, as we may perhaps farther ſhew in convenient place.

To proceed therefore upon the *phænomenon* of *ſpiritual mechaniſm*, it is here to be noted, that in forming and working up the *ſpirit*, the aſſembly has a conſiderable ſhare, as well as the preacher. The method of this *arcanum* is as follows. They violently ſtrain their eye-balls inward, half cloſing the lids; then, as they ſit, they are in a perpetual motion of *ſee-ſaw*, making long hums at proper periods, and continuing the ſound at equal height; chuſing their time in thoſe intermiſſions, while the preacher is at ebb. Neither is this practice, in any part of it, ſo ſingular and improbable, as not to be traced, in diſtant regions, from reading and obſervation. For, firſt,

the Jauguis, * or enlightened ſaints of India, ſe all their viſions by help of an acquired ſtrainin and preſſure of the eyes. Secondly, the art o *ſee-ſaw* on a beam, and ſwinging by ſeſſion upo a cord, in order to raiſe artificial ecſtaſies, hat been derived to us from our Scythian anceſtors, where it is practiſed at this day among the wo men. Laſtly, the whole proceeding, as I hav here related it, is performed by the natives o Ireland, with a conſiderable improvement; an it is granted, that this noble nation hath of al others admitted fewer corruptions, and degene rated leaſt from the purity of the old Tartars Now, it is uſual for a knot of Iriſh, men an women, to abſtract themſelves from matter, bin up all their ſenſes, grow viſionary and ſpiritua by influence of a ſhort pipe of tobacco hande round the company; each preſerving the ſmok in his mouth, till it comes again to his turn t take in freſh. At the ſame time, there is a con cert of a continued gentle hum, repeated an renewed by inſtinct, as occaſion requires; an they move their bodies up and down to a degree that ſometimes their heads and points lie paralle to the horizon. Mean while, you may obſerv their eyes turned up in the poſture of one wh endeavours to keep himſelf awake; by which and many other ſymptoms among them, it mani feſtly appears, that the reaſoning faculties are a ſuſpende

* Bernier mem. de Mogol.

‡ Guagnini hiſt. Sarmat.

ſuſpended and ſuperſeded; that imagination hath uſurped the ſeat, ſcattering a thouſand deliriums over the brain. Returning from this digreſſion, I ſhall deſcribe the methods by which the *ſpirit* approaches. The eyes being diſpoſed according to art, at firſt you can ſee nothing; but, after a ſhort pauſe, a ſmall glimmering light begins to appear, and dance before you. Then, by frequently moving your body up and down, you perceive the vapours to aſcend very faſt, till you are perfectly doſed, and fluſtered like one who drinks too much in a morning. Mean while the preacher is alſo at work; he begins a loud hum, which pierces you quite through: this is immediately returned by the audience; and you find yourſelf prompted to imitate them, by a mere ſpontaneous impulſe, without knowing what you do. The *interſtitia* are duly filled up by the preacher, to prevent too long a pauſe, under which the *ſpirit* would ſoon faint and grow languid.

This is all I am allowed to diſcover about the progreſs of the *ſpirit*, with relation to that part which is borne by the *aſſembly*; but in the methods of the preacher, to which I now proceed, I ſhall be more large and particular.

SECT. II.

YOU will read it very gravely remarked in the books of thoſe illuſtrious and right eloquent penmen, the modern travellers, that the fundamental difference, in point of religion, between

the wild Indians and us, lies in this; that we worſhip *God*, and they worſhip the *devil*. But there are certain critics, who will by no means admit of this diſtinction; rather believing, that all nations whatſoever adore the *true God*, becauſe they ſeem to intend their devotions to ſome inviſible power, of greateſt *goodneſs* and *ability* to help them; which perhaps will take in the brighteſt attributes aſcribed to the Divinity. Others again inform us, that thoſe idolaters adore two *principles*; the *principle of good*, and that of *evil*: which indeed I am apt to look upon as the moſt univerſal notion that mankind, by the mere light of nature, ever entertained of things inviſible. How this idea hath been managed by the Indians and us, and with what advantage to the underſtandings of either, may well deſerve to be examined. To me, the difference appears little more than this, that they are put oftener upon their knees by their *fears*, and we by our *deſires*; that the former ſet them a *praying*, and us a *curſing*. What I applaud them for, is their diſcretion, in limiting their devotions and their deities to their ſeveral diſtricts; nor ever-ſuffering the liturgy of the *white* god, to croſs or to interfere with that of the *black*. Not ſo with us; who, pretending, by the lines and meaſures of our reaſon, to extend the dominion of one inviſible power, and contract that of the other, have diſcovered a groſs ignorance in the natures of good and evil, and moſt horribly confounded the frontiers of both. After men have lifted up the throne of

their

their Divinity to the *cœlum empyræum*, adorned with all ſuch qualities and accompliſhments as themſelves ſeem moſt to value and poſſeſs; after they have ſunk their *principle* of *evil* to the loweſt centre, bound him with chains, loaded him with curſes, furniſhed him with viler diſpoſitions than any *rake-hell* of the town, accoutred him with tail, and horns, and huge claws, and ſaucer eyes; I laugh aloud to ſee theſe reaſoners at the ſame time engaged in wiſe diſpute about certain walks and purlieus, whether they are in the verge of God or the devil; ſeriouſly debating, whether ſuch and ſuch influences come into mens minds from above or below; whether certain paſſions and affections are guided by the evil ſpirit or the good:

Dum fas atque nefas exiguo fine libidinum
Diſcernunt avidi———

Thus do men eſtabliſh a fellowſhip of *Chriſt* with *Belial*, and ſuch is the analogy they make between *cloven tongues* and *cloven feet*. Of the like nature is the diſquiſition before us. It hath continued theſe hundred years an even debate, whether the deportment and the cant of our Engliſh enthuſiaſtic preachers were *poſſeſſion* or *inſpiration*; and a world of argument has been drained on either ſide, perhaps to little purpoſe. For I think it is in *life* as in *tragedy*, where it is held a conviction of great defect, both in order and invention, to interpoſe the aſſiſtance of preternatural power, without an abſolute and laſt neceſſity. However, it is a ſketch of human vanity, for every indivi-

dual to imagine the whole univerſe is intereſted in his meaneſt concern. If he hath got cleanly over a kennel, ſome angel unſeen deſcended on purpoſe to help him by the hand; if he hath knocked his head againſt a poſt, it was the devil, for his ſins, let looſe from hell on purpoſe to buffet him. Who, that ſees a little paltry mortal droning, and dreaming, and drivelling to a multitude, can think it agreeable to common good ſenſe, that either heaven or hell ſhould be put to the trouble of influence or inſpection upon what he is about? Therefore I am reſolved immediately to weed this error out of mankind, by making it clear, that this myſtery of vending ſpiritual gifts is nothing but a *trade*, acquired by as much inſtruction, and maſtered by equal practice and application, as others are. This will beſt appear by deſcribing and deducing the whole proceſs of the operation, as variouſly as it hath fallen under my knowledge or experience.

* * * * * *

* * *

* * * *Here the whole ſcheme*

* * * *of ſpiritual mechaniſm*

* * * *was deduced and explain-*

* * * *ed, with an appearance*

* * * *of great reading and ob-*

* * * *ſervation; but it was*

* * * *thought neither ſafe nor*

* * * *convenient to print it.*

* * *

* * * * * *

Here

Here it may not be amiſs to add a few words upon the laudable practice of wearing *quilted caps:* which is not a matter of mere cuſtom, humour, or faſhion, as ſome would pretend, but an inſtitution of great ſagacity and uſe. Theſe, when moiſtened with ſweat, ſtop all perſpiration; and, by reverberating the heat, prevent the ſpirit from evaporating any way but at the mouth; even as a ſkilful houſe-wife, that covers her ſtill with a wet clout for the ſame reaſon, and finds the ſame effect. For it is the opinion of choice *virtuoſi*, that the brain is only a crowd of little animals, but with teeth and claws extremely ſharp, and therefore cling together in the contexture we behold, like the picture of *Hobbes's Leviathan*, or like bees in perpendicular ſwarm upon a tree, or like a carrion corrupted into vermin, ſtill preſerving the ſhape and figure of the mother animal: that all invention is formed by the morſure of two or more of theſe animals, upon certain capillary nerves, which proceed from thence; whereof three branches ſpread into the tongue, and two into the right hand. They hold alſo, that theſe animals are of a conſtitution extremely cold; that their food is the air we attract, their excrement phlegm; and that what we vulgarly call rheums, and colds, and diſtillations, is nothing elſe but an epidemical looſeneſs, to which that little commonwealth is very ſubject, from the climate it lies under: farther, that nothing leſs than a violent heat can diſintangle theſe creatures

tures from their hamated ſtation of life, or give them vigour and humour to imprint the marks of their little teeth: that if the morſure be hexagonal, it produces poetry; the circular gives eloquence; if the bite hath been conical, the perſon, whoſe nerve is ſo affected, ſhall be diſpoſed to write upon politics; and ſo of the reſt.

I ſhall now diſcourſe briefly, by what kind of practices the voice is beſt governed, towards the compoſition and improvement of the *ſpirit*; for without a competent ſkill in tuning and toning each word, and ſyllable, and letter, to their due cadence, the whole operation is incomplete, miſſes entirely of its effect on the hearers, and puts the workman himſelf to continual pains for new ſupplies without ſucceſs. For it is to be underſtood, that, in the language of the ſpirit, *cant* and *droning* ſupply the place of *ſenſe* and *reaſon*, in the language of men; becauſe, in ſpiritual harangues, the diſpoſition of the words according to the art of grammar, hath not the leaſt uſe, but the ſkill and influence wholly lie in the choice and cadence of the ſyllables; even as a diſcreet *compoſer*, who, in ſetting a ſong, changes the words and order ſo often, that he is forced to make it *nonſenſe*, before he can make it *muſic*. For this reaſon it hath been held by ſome, that the art of canting is ever in greateſt perfection, when managed by *ignorance*; which is thought to be enigmatically meant by Plutarch, when he tell us, that the beſt muſical inſtruments

ſtruments were made from the bones of an *aſs*. And the profounder critics upon that paſſage are of opinion, the word, in its genuine ſignification, means no other than a *jaw-bone*; though ſome rather think it to have been the *os ſacrum*. But in ſo nice a caſe I ſhall not take upon me to decide; the curious are at liberty to *pick* from it whatever they pleaſe.

The firſt ingredient towards the art of canting, is a competent ſhare of *inward light*; that is to ſay, a large memory, plentifully fraught with theological polyſyllables, and myſterious texts from holy writ, applied and digeſted by thoſe methods and mechanical operations already related; the bearers of this *light* reſembling *lanterns*, compact of leaves from old Geneva Bibles: which invention, Sir Humphrey Edwin, during his mayoralty, of happy memory, highly approved and advanced; affirming the ſcripture to be now fulfilled, where it ſays, *Thy word is a lantern to my feet, and a light to my paths.*

Now, the art of *canting* conſiſts in ſkilfully adapting the voice to whatever words the ſpirit delivers, that each may ſtrike the ears of the audience with its moſt ſignificant cadence. The force or energy of this eloquence is not to be found, as among ancient orators, in the diſpoſition of words to a ſentence, or the turning of long periods; but, agreeable to the modern refinements in muſic, is taken up wholly in dwelling and dilating upon ſyllables and letters.

Thus,

Thus, it is frequent for a ſingle *vowel* to draw ſighs from a multitude; and for a whole aſſembly of ſaints, to ſob to the muſic of one ſolitary *liquid*. But theſe are trifles, when even ſounds inarticulate are obſerved to produce as forcible effects. A maſter-workman ſhall *blow his noſe ſo powerfully*, as to pierce the hearts of his people, who are diſpoſed to receive the *excrements* of his brain, with the ſame reverence as the *iſſue* of it. Hawking, ſpitting, and belching, the defects of other mens rhetoric, are the flowers, and figures, and ornaments of his. For, the *ſpirit* being the ſame in all, it is of no import through what vehicle it is conveyed.

It is a point of too much difficulty, to draw the principles of this famous art within the compaſs of certain adequate rules. However, perhaps I may one day oblige the world with my critical eſſay upon the art of *canting, philoſophically, phyſically, and muſically conſidered.*

But, among all improvements of the *ſpirit* wherein the voice hath borne a part, there is none to be compared with that of *conveying the ſound through the noſe*, which, under the denomination of *ſnuffling*,* hath paſſed with ſo great applauſe in the world. The originals of this inſtitution are very dark; but having been initiated into the myſtery of it, and leave being given me

* The *ſnuffling* of men, who have loſt their noſes by lewd courſes, is ſaid to have given riſe to that tone, which our Diſſenters did too much affect. *W. Wotton.*

me to publiſh it to the world, I ſhall deliver as direct a relation as I can.

This art, like many other famous inventions, owed its birth, or at leaſt improvement and perfection, to an effect of chance; but was eſtabliſhed upon ſolid reaſons, and hath flouriſhed in this iſland ever ſince, with great luſtre. All agree, that it firſt appeared upon the decay and diſcouragement of *bagpipes*; which, having long ſuffered under the mortal hatred of the *brethren*, tottered for a time, and at laſt fell with *monarchy*. The ſtory is thus related.

As yet, *ſnuffling* was not; when the following adventure happened to a *Banbury ſaint*. Upon a certain day, while he was far engaged among the tabernacles of the *wicked*, he felt the outward man put into odd commotions, and ſtrangely pricked forward by the inward: An effect very uſual among the modern inſpired. For ſome think, that the *ſpirit* is apt to feed on the *fleſh*, like hungry wines upon raw beef. Others rather believe, there is a perpetual game at *leap-frog* between both; and ſometimes the *fleſh* is uppermoſt, and ſometimes the *ſpirit*: adding, that the former, while it is in the ſtate of a *rider*, wears huge Rippon ſpurs, and, when it comes to the turn of being *bearer*, is wonderfully headſtrong and hard-mouthed. However it came about, the *ſaint* felt his *veſſel* full extended in every part, (a very natural effect of ſtrong *inſpiration*;) and the place and time falling out ſo unluckily,

luckily, that he could not have the convenience of evacuating upwards, by repetition, prayer, or lecture, he was forced to open an inferior vent. In ſhort, he wreſtled with the fleſh ſo long, that he at length ſubdued it, coming off with honourable wounds all *before*. The ſurgeon had now cured the parts primarily affected; but the diſeaſe, driven from its poſt, flew up into his head: and as a ſkilful general, valiantly attacked in his trenches, and beaten from the field, by flying marches withdraws to the capital city, breaking down the bridges to prevent purſuit; ſo the diſeaſe, repelled from its firſt ſtation, fled before the *rod* of Hermes, to the upper region, there fortifying itſelf; but finding the foe making attacks at the *noſe*, broke down the *bridge*, and retired to the head-quarters. Now, the naturaliſts obſerve, that there is in human noſes an *idioſyncracy*, by virtue of which, the more the paſſage is obſtructed, the more our ſpeech delights to go through, as the muſic of a flagellet is made by the *ſtops*. By this method, the twang of the noſe becomes perfectly to reſemble the *ſnuffle* of a bagpipe, and is found to be equally attractive of Britiſh ears; whereof the ſaint had ſudden experience, by practiſing his new faculty with wonderful ſucceſs in the operation of the *ſpirit*: for, in a ſhort time, no doctrine paſſed for ſound and orthodox, unleſs it were delivered through the noſe. Straight, every paſtor copied after this original; and thoſe who

who could not otherwiſe arrive to a perfection, ſpirited by a noble zeal, made uſe of the ſame experiment to acquire it. So that, I think, it may be truly affirmed, the *ſaints* owe their empire to the *ſnuffling* of one *animal*, as Darius ‡ did his to the *neighing* of another; and both ſtratagems were performed by the ſame art; for we read, how the *Perſian beaſt* acquired his faculty by *covering a mare* the day before.

I ſhould now have done, if I were not convinced, that whatever I have yet advanced upon this ſubject, is liable to great exception. For, allowing all I have ſaid to be true, it may ſtill be juſtly objected, That there is, in the commonwealth of *artificial enthuſiaſm*, ſome real foundation for art to work upon in the temper and complexion of individuals, which other mortals ſeem to want. Obſerve but the geſture, the motion, and the countenance of ſome choice profeſſors, though in their moſt familiar actions, you will find them of a different race from the reſt of human creatures. Remark your commoneſt pretender to a light *within*, how dark, and dirty, and gloomy he is *without:* as lanterns, which, the more light they bear in their bodies, caſt out ſo much the more ſoot, and ſmoke, and fuliginous matter to adhere to the ſides. Liſten but to their ordinary talk, and look on the mouth that delivers it: you will imagine you are hearing ſome ancient oracle, and your underſtanding

‡ Herodot.

will be *equally* informed. Upon theſe, and the like reaſons, certain objectors pretend to put it beyond all doubt, that there muſt be a ſort of preternatural *ſpirit* poſſeſſing the heads of the modern ſaints; and ſome will have it to be the *heat* of zeal, working upon the *dregs* of ignorance, as other *ſpirits* are produced from *lees* by the force of fire. Some again think, that when our earthly tabernacles are diſordered and deſolate, ſhaken and out of repair, the ſpirit delights to dwell within them; as houſes are ſaid to be haunted, when they are forſaken and gone to decay.

To ſet this matter in as fair a light as poſſible, I ſhall here very briefly deduce the hiſtory of *Fanaticiſm* from the moſt early ages to the preſent. And if we are able to fix upon any one material or fundamental point, wherein the chief profeſſors have univerſally agreed, I think we may reaſonably lay hold on that, and aſſign it for the great ſeed or principle of the *ſpirit*.

The moſt early traces we meet with of *Fanatics* in ancient ſtory, are among the Ægyptians, who inſtituted thoſe rites known in Greece by the names of *Orgia*, *Panegyres*, and *Dionyſia*; whether introduced there by Orpheus or Melampus, we ſhall not diſpute at preſent, nor, in all likelihood, at any time for the future. The feaſts were celebrated to the honour of *Oſiris*, whom the Grecians called *Dionyſius*, and is the ſame

ſame with *Bacchus;** which has betrayed ſome ſuperficial readers to imagine, that the whole buſineſs was nothing more than a ſet of roaring, ſcouring companions, over-charged with wine. But this is a ſcandalous miſtake, foiſted on the world by a ſort of modern authors, who have too *literal* an underſtanding; and, becauſe antiquity is to be traced *backwards*, do therefore, like Jews, begin their books at the wrong end, as if learning were a ſort of *conjuring*. Theſe are the men who pretend to underſtand a book by ſcouting through the *index;* as if a traveller ſhould go about to deſcribe a *palace*, when he had ſeen nothing but the *privy;* or like certain fortune-tellers in Northern America, who have a way of reading a man's deſtiny by peeping into his *breech*. For, at the time of inſtituting theſe myſteries, † there was not one vine in all Ægypt, the natives drinking nothing but *ale;* which liquor ſeems to have been far more ancient than wine, and has the honour of owing its invention and progreſs not only to the Ægyptian Oſiris ‡ but to the Grecian Bacchus; who, in their famous expedition, carried the receipt of it along with them, and gave it to the nations they viſited or ſubdued. Beſides, Bacchus himſelf was very ſeldom or never drunk: for it is recorded of him, that he was the firſt inventor of the *mitre;* ‖ which he wore continually on his head, (as the

* Diod. Sic. l. 1. Plut. de Iſide et Oſiride.
† Herod. l. 2. ‡ Diod. Sic. l. 1. &. 3. ‖ Id. l. 4.

whole company of Bacchanals did,) to prevent vapours and the *headach* after hard drinking. And for this reaſon, ſay ſome, the *ſcarlet whore*, when ſhe makes the kings of the earth drunk with her cup of abomination, is always ſober herſelf, though ſhe never balks the glaſs in her turn, being, it ſeems, kept upon her legs by the virtue of her *triple mitre*. Now, theſe feaſts were inſtituted in imitation of the famous expedition Oſiris made through the world, and of the company that attended him, whereof the Bacchanalian ceremonies* were ſo many types and ſymbols. From which account it is manifeſt, that the Fanatic rites of theſe Bacchanals cannot be imputed to intoxications by wine, but muſt needs have had a deeper foundation. What this was, we may gather large hints from certain circumſtances in the courſe of their myſteries. For, in the firſt place, there was in their proceſſions, an entire *mixture and confuſion of ſexes*: they affected to ramble about hills and deſerts; their garlands were of *ivy* and *vine*, emblems of cleaving and clinging; or of *fir*, the parent of *turpentine*. It is added, that they imitated *ſatyrs*, were attended by *goats*, and rode upon *aſſes*, all companions of great ſkill and practice in affairs of gallantry. They bore, for their enſigns, certain curious figures, perched upon long poles, made into the ſhape and ſize of the *virga genitalis*, with its *appurtenances*; which were ſo many ſhadows

* See the particulars in Diod. Sic. l. 1. & 3.

ſhadows and emblems of the whole myſtery, as well as trophies ſet up by the female conquerors. Laſtly, in a certain town of Attica, the whole ſolemnity, ſtripped of all its types,* was performed *in puris naturalibus;* the votaries not flying in covies, but ſorted into couples. The ſame may be farther conjectured from the death of Orpheus, one of the inſtitutors of theſe myſteries; who was torn in pieces by women, becauſe he refuſed to *communicate his orgies* † to them; which others explained, by telling us, he had *caſtrated* himſelf upon grief for the loſs of his wife.

Omitting many others of leſs note, the next *Fanatics* we meet with of any eminence, were the numerous ſects of *heretics*, appearing in the five firſt centuries of the *Chriſtian æra*, from Simon Magus and his followers, to thoſe of Eutyches. I have collected their ſyſtems from infinite reading; and comparing them with thoſe of their ſucceſſors in the ſeveral ages ſince, I find there are certain bounds ſet even to the irregularity of human thought, and thoſe a great deal narrower than is commonly apprehended. For as they all frequently interfere, even in their wildeſt ravings; ſo there is one fundamental point, wherein they are ſure to meet, as lines in a centre, and that is, the *community of women*. Great were their ſolicitudes in this matter; and

* Dionyſia Brauronia.

† Vid. Photium in excerptis è Conone.

they never failed of certain articles in their ſchemes of worſhip, on purpoſe to eſtabliſh it.

The laſt *Fanatics* of note, were thoſe which ſtarted up in Germany, a little after the *reformation* of Luther; ſpringing, as *muſhrooms* do at the *end of a harveſt*. Such were John of Leyden, David George, Adam Neuſter, and many others; whoſe viſions and revelations always terminated in *leading about half a dozen ſiſters apiece*, and making that practice a fundamental part of their ſyſtem. For, human life is a continual navigation; and if we expect our *veſſels* to paſs with ſafety, through the waves and tempeſts of this fluctuating world, it is neceſſary to make a good proviſion of the *fleſh*, as ſeamen lay in ſtore of *beef* for a long voyage.

Now, from this brief ſurvey of ſome principal ſects among the *Fanatics* in all ages, (having omitted the *Mahometans*, and others, who might alſo help to confirm the argument I am about;) to which I might add ſeveral among ourſelves, ſuch as the *family of love*, *ſweet ſingers of Iſrael*, and the like; and, from reflecting upon that fundamental point in their doctrines, about *women*, wherein they have ſo unanimouſly agreed; I am apt to imagine, that the ſeed or principle, which has ever put men upon *viſions* in things *inviſible*, is of a corporeal nature. For, the profounder chemiſts inform us, that the ſtrongeſt *ſpirits* may be extracted from *human fleſh*. Beſides, the ſpinal marrow, being nothing elſe but a con-

a continuation of the brain, muſt needs create a very free communication between the ſuperior faculties and thoſe below: and thus, the *thorn in the fleſh* ſerves for a *ſpur* to the *ſpirit*. I think it is agreed among phyſicians, that nothing affects the head ſo much, as a tentiginous humour, repelled and elated to the upper region, found, by daily practice, to run frequently up into madneſs. A very eminent member of the faculty aſſured me, that when the Quakers firſt appeared, he ſeldom was without ſome female patients among them, for the *furor*———Perſons of a viſionary devotion, either men or women, are, in their complexion, of all others, the moſt amorous. For *zeal* is frequently kindled from the ſame ſpark with other fires; and, from inflaming brotherly love, will proceed to raiſe that of a gallant. If we inſpect into the uſual proceſs of modern courtſhip, we ſhall find it to conſiſt in a devout turn of the eyes, called *ogling;* an artificial form of canting and whining, by rote, every interval, for want of other matter, made up with a ſhrug, or a hum; a ſigh or a groan; the ſtyle compact of inſignificant words, incoherences, and repetition. Theſe I take to be the moſt accompliſhed rules of addreſs to a miſtreſs; and where are theſe performed with more dexterity, than by the *ſaints?* Nay, to bring this argument yet cloſer, I have been informed by certain ſanguine brethren of the firſt claſs, that, in the height and

orgaſmus

orgaſmus of their ſpiritual exerciſe, it has been frequent with them * * * * * *; immediately after which, they found the *ſpirit* to relax and flag of a ſudden with the nerves, and they were forced to haſten to a concluſion. This may be farther ſtrengthened, by obſerving with wonder, how unaccountably all females are attracted by viſionary or enthuſiaſtic preachers, though never ſo contemptible in their *outward mien*; which is uſually ſuppoſed to be done upon conſiderations purely ſpiritual, without any carnal regards at all. But, I have reaſon to think, the ſex hath certain characteriſtics, by which they form a truer judgment of human abilities and performings, than we ourſelves can poſſibly do of each other. Let that be as it will, thus much is certain, that, however ſpiritual intrigues begin, they generally conclude like all others; they may branch upwards toward heaven, but the root is in the earth. Too intenſe a contemplation is not the buſineſs of fleſh and blood; it muſt, by the neceſſary courſe of things in a little time, let go its hold, and fall into *matter*. Lovers, for the ſake of celeſtial converſe are but another ſort of Platonics, who pretend to ſee ſtars and heaven in ladies eyes, and to look or think no lower; but the ſame *pit* is provided for both. And they ſeem a perfect moral to the ſtory of that philoſopher, who, while his thought and eyes were fixed upon the *conſtellations*, found himſelf ſeduced by his *lower parts* into a *ditch*.

I had

I had ſomewhat more to ſay upon this part of the ſubject; but the poſt is juſt going, which forces me in great haſte to conclude,

Pray burn this letter as ſoon as it comes to your hands.

SIR,

Yours, &c.

AN

AN ARGUMENT

TO PROVE,

That the ABOLISHING of CHRISTIANITY in ENGLAND, may, as things now ſtand, be attended with ſome inconveniencies, and perhaps not produce thoſe many good effects propoſed thereby*.

Written in the year 1708.

I Am very ſenſible, what a weakneſs and preſumption it is, to reaſon againſt the general humour and diſpoſition of the world. I remember

* *The argument againſt abolishing Chriſtianity*, is carried on with the higheſt wit and humour. Graver divines threaten their readers with future puniſhments: Swift artfully exhibits a picture of preſent ſhame. He judged rightly, in imagining, that a ſmall treatiſe, written with a ſpirit of mirth and freedom, muſt be more efficacious than long ſermons, or laborious leſſons of morality. He endeavours to laugh us into religion; well knowing, that we are often laughed out of it. *Orrery.*

The argument, &c. is the moſt delicate, refined, complete, unvaried piece of irony, from the beginning to the end, that ever was written ſince the creation of the world. And, without diſpute, if in the works of man there can be ſuppoſed any ſuch thing as real perfection, we muſt allow it to conſiſt in thoſe amazing productions of wit and humour, which, in all probability, can never be excelled by any effort of genius, and beyond which, it is impoſſible to frame any critical or diſtinct idea of the human faculties.——With what egregious contempt and ridicule doth he, in this piece, expoſe the abſurdity of thoſe wretches, who are the patrons and abettors of vice and irreligion? *Swift.*

ber it was with great juſtice, and a due regard to the freedom, both of the public and the preſs, forbidden, upon ſevere penalties, to write, or diſcourſe, or lay wagers againſt the *union*, even before it was confirmed by parliament; becauſe that was looked upon as a deſign to oppoſe the current of the people; which, beſides the folly of it, is a manifeſt breach of the fundamental law, that makes this majority of opinion the voice of God. In like manner, and for the very ſame reaſons, it may perhaps be neither ſafe nor prudent to argue againſt the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity, at a juncture when all parties appear ſo unanimouſly determined upon the point; as we cannot but allow, from their actions, their diſcourſes, and their writings. However, I know not how, whether from the affectation of ſingularity, or the perverſeneſs of human nature; but ſo it unhappily falls out, that I cannot be entirely of this opinion. Nay, though I were ſure an order were iſſued for my immediate proſecution by the Attorney-General, I ſhould ſtill confeſs, that, in the preſent poſture of our affairs at home or abroad, I do not yet ſee the abſolute neceſſity of extirpating the Chriſtian religion from among us.

This perhaps may appear too great a paradox, even for our wiſe and paradoxical age to endure: therefore I ſhall handle it with all tenderneſs, and with the utmoſt deference to the great and profound majority, which is of another ſentiment.

And

And yet the curious may pleaſe to obſerve, how much the genius of a nation is liable to alter in half an age. I have heard it affirmed for certain, by ſome very old people, that the contrary opinion was, even in their memories, as much in vogue as the other is now; and that a project for the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity would then have appeared as ſingular, and been thought as abſurd, as it would be at this time to write or diſcourſe in its defence.

Therefore I freely own, that all appearances are againſt me. The ſyſtem of the goſpel, after the fate of other ſyſtems, is generally antiquated and exploded; and the maſs or body of the common people, among whom it ſeems to have had its lateſt credit, are now grown as much aſhamed of it as their betters; opinions, like faſhions, always deſcending from thoſe of quality to the middle ſort, and thence to the vulgar, where at length they are dropped, and vaniſh.

But here I would not be miſtaken; and muſt therefore be ſo bold as to borrow a diſtinction from the writers on the other ſide, when they make a difference between nominal and real *Trinitarians*. I hope no reader imagines me ſo weak to ſtand up in the defence of real Chriſtianity, ſuch as uſed in primitive times (if we may believe the authors of thoſe ages) to have an influence upon mens belief and actions. To offer at the reſtoring of that, would indeed be a wild project: it would be to dig up foundations; to deſtroy at one

one blow, all the wit, and half the learning of the kingdom; to break the entire frame and conſtitution of things; to ruin trade, extinguiſh arts and ſciences, with the profeſſors of them; in ſhort, to turn our courts, exchanges, and ſhops into deſerts; and would be full as abſurd as the propoſal of Horace, where he adviſes the Romans, all in a body, to leave their city, and to ſeek a new ſeat in ſome remote part of the world, by way of cure for the corruption of their manners.

Therefore I think this caution was in itſelf altogether unneceſſary, (which I have inſerted only to prevent all poſſibility of cavilling;) ſince every candid reader will eaſily underſtand my diſcourſe to be intended only in defence of nominal Chriſtianity; the other having been for ſome time wholly laid aſide, by general conſent, as utterly inconſiſtent with our preſent ſchemes of wealth and power.

But why we ſhould therefore caſt off the name and title of Chriſtians, although the general opinion and reſolution be ſo violent for it, I confeſs I cannot (with ſubmiſſion) apprehend, nor is the conſequence neceſſary. However, ſince the undertakers propoſe ſuch wonderful advantages to the nation by this project, and advance many plauſible objections againſt the ſyſtem of Chriſtianity; I ſhall briefly conſider the ſtrength of both, fairly allow them their greateſt weight, and offer ſuch anſwers as I think moſt reaſonable. After which I will beg leave to ſhew, what incon-

veniencies may poſſibly happen by ſuch an innovation, in the preſent poſture of our affairs.

Firſt, One great advantage propoſed by the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity, is, That it would very much enlarge and eſtabliſh liberty of conſcience, that great bulwark of our nation, and of the Proteſtant religion; which is ſtill too much limited by prieſtcraft, notwithſtanding all the good intentions of the legiſlature; as we have lately found by a ſevere inſtance. For it is confidently reported, that two young gentlemen, of real hopes, bright wit, and profound judgment, who, upon a thorough examination of cauſes and effects, and by the mere force of natural abilities, without the leaſt tincture of learning, having made a diſcovery, that there was no God, and generouſly communicating their thoughts for the good of the public, were ſome time ago, by an unparalleled ſeverity, and upon I know not what obſolete law, broke *only for blaſphemy;* and, as it hath been wiſely obſerved, if perſecution once begins, no man alive knows how far it may reach, or where it will end.

In anſwer to all which, with deference to wiſer judgments, I think this rather ſhews the neceſſity of a nominal religion among us. Great wits love to be free with the higheſt objects; and, if they cannot be allowed a God to revile or renounce, they will *ſpeak evil of dignities*, abuſe the government, and reflect upon the miniſtry; which, I am ſure, few will deny to be of much more

more pernicious conſequence; according to the ſaying of Tiberius, *Deorum offenſa diis curæ.* As to the particular fact related, I think it is not fair to argue from one inſtance; perhaps another cannot be produced: yet (to the comfort of all thoſe who may be apprehenſive of proſecution) blaſphemy, we know, is freely ſpoken a million of times in every coffee-houſe and tavern, or wherever elſe *good company* meet. It muſt be allowed, indeed, that to break an Engliſh free-born officer, only for blaſphemy, was, to ſpeak the gentleſt of ſuch an action, a very high ſtrain of abſolute power. Little can be ſaid in excuſe for the General. Perhaps he was afraid it might give offence to the allies, among whom, for aught we know, it may be the cuſtom of the country to believe a God. But if he argued, as ſome have done, upon a miſtaken principle, that an officer who is guilty of ſpeaking blaſphemy, may, ſome time or other, proceed ſo far as to raiſe a mutiny; the conſequence is by no means to be admitted: for ſurely the commander of an Engliſh army is like to be but ill obeyed, whoſe ſoldiers fear and reverence him as little as they do a Deity.

It is further objected againſt the goſpel-ſyſtem, That it obliges men to the belief of things too difficult for free-thinkers, and ſuch as have ſhaken off the prejudices that uſually cling to a confined education. To which I anſwer, That men ſhould be cautious how they raiſe objections,

which reflect upon the wiſdom of the na
Is not every body freely allowed to believe w
ever he pleaſeth, and to publiſh his belief t
world whenever he thinks fit, eſpecially if it f
to ſtrengthen the party which is in the ri
Would any indifferent foreigner, who ſhould
the trumpery lately written by Aſgil, Ti
Toland, Coward *, and forty more, imagin
goſpel to be our rule of faith, and confirm
parliaments? Does any man either believe, c
he believes, or deſire to have it thought th
ſays he believes one ſyllable of the matter?
is any man worſe received upon that ſcor
does he find his want of *nominal* faith a diſa
tage to him, in the purſuit of any civil or
tary employment? What if there be an old
mant ſtatute or two againſt him? Are the
now obſolete, to a degree, that Empſon and
ley themſelves, if they were now alive, v
find it impoſſible to put them in execution?

It is likewiſe urged, That there are, by
putation, in this kingdom, above ten tho
parſons; whoſe revenues, added to thoſe o
Lords the biſhops, would ſuffice to maintai
leaſt, two hundred young gentlemen of w
ple

* Aſgil wrote an argument to prove, that man may l
lated from hence into eternal life, without paſſing
death.

Toland publiſhed ſome deiſtical books.

Tindal's writings were blaſphemous and atheiſtical.

Coward aſſerted the mortality of the ſoul, and alle
of it to be in the blood. *Hawkeſ.*

pleaſure, and free-thinking; enemies to prieſt-craft, narrow principles, pedantry, and prejudices; who might be an ornament to the court and town: and then again, ſo great a number of able [bodied] divines might be a recruit to our fleet and armies. This, indeed, appears to be a conſideration of ſome weight. But then, on the other ſide, ſeveral things deſerve to be conſidered likewiſe: as, firſt, whether it may not be thought neceſſary, that in certain tracts of country, like what we call pariſhes, there ſhould be *one* man, at leaſt, of abilities to read and write. Then it ſeems a wrong computation, that the revenues of the church throughout this iſland, would be large enough to maintain two hundred young gentlemen, or even half that number after the preſent refined way of living; that is, to allow each of them ſuch a rent, as, in the modern form of ſpeech, would make them eaſy. But ſtill there is in this project a greater miſchief behind; and we ought to beware of the woman's folly, who killed the hen that every morning laid her a golden egg. For, pray, what will become of the race of men in the next age, if we had nothing to truſt to, beſide the ſcrophulous, conſumptive productions furniſhed by our men of wit and pleaſure; when, having ſquandered away their vigour, health, and eſtates, they are forced, by ſome diſagreeable marriage, to piece up their broken fortunes, and entail rottenneſs and politeneſs on their poſterity? Now, here are ten thouſand perſons reduced, by the

wiſe regulations of Henry VIII. to the neceſſity of a low diet, and moderate exerciſe, who are the only great reſtorers of our breed; without which, the nation would, in an age or two, become one great hoſpital.

Another advantage propoſed by the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity, is, the clear gain of one day in ſeven, which is now entirely loſt, and conſequently the kingdom one ſeventh leſs conſiderable in trade, buſineſs, and pleaſure; beſides the loſs to the public of ſo many ſtately ſtructures now in the hands of the clergy; which might be converted into play-houſes, market-houſes, exchanges, common dormitories, and other public edifices.

I hope I ſhall be forgiven a hard word, if I call this a perfect cavil. I readily own there hath been an old cuſtom, time out of mind, for people to aſſemble in the churches every Sunday; and that ſhops are ſtill frequently ſhut, in order, as it is conceived, to preſerve the memory of that ancient practice. But how this can prove a hindrance to buſineſs or pleaſure, is hard to imagine. What if the men of pleaſure are forced, one day in the week, to game at home, inſtead of the *chocolate-houſe?* Are not the *taverns* and *coffee-houſes* open? Can there be a more convenient ſeaſon for taking a doſe of phyſic? Are fewer claps got upon Sundays than other days? Is not that the chief day for traders to ſum up the accounts of the week; and for lawyers to prepare their

their briefs? But I would fain know, how it can be pretended, that the churches are miſapplied? Where are more appointments and rendezvouſes of gallantry? where more care to appear in the foremoſt box, with greater advantage of dreſs? where more meetings for buſineſs? where more bargains driven of all ſorts? and where ſo many conveniencies or incitements to ſleep?

There is one advantage, greater than any of the foregoing, propoſed by the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity; That it will utterly extinguiſh parties among us, by removing thoſe factious diſtinctions of *High* and *Low Church*, of *Whig* and *Tory*, *Preſbyterian* and *Church of England*; which are now ſo many grievous clogs upon public proceedings, and are apt to diſpoſe men to prefer the gratifying themſelves, or depreſſing their adverſaries, before the moſt important intereſt of the ſtate.

I confeſs, if it were certain, that ſo great an advantage would redound to the nation by this expedient, I would ſubmit, and be ſilent. But will any man ſay, that if the words *whoring*, *drinking*, *cheating*, *lying*, *ſtealing*, were, by act of parliament, ejected out of the Engliſh tongue and dictionaries, we ſhould all awake next morning chaſte and temperate, honeſt and juſt, and lovers of truth? Is this a fair conſequence? Or, if the phyſicians would forbid us to pronounce the words, *pox*, *gout*, *rheumatiſm*, and *ſtone*, would that expedient ſerve, like ſo many *taliſmans*, to deſtroy the diſeaſes themſelves? Are party and

faction

faction rooted in mens hearts no deeper than phraſes borrowed from religion, or founded upon no firmer principles? And is our language ſo poor, that we cannot find other terms to expreſs them? Are envy, pride, avarice, and ambition, ſuch ill nomenclators, that they cannot furniſh appellations for their owners? Will not *Heydukes* and *Mamalukes*, *Mandarines* and *Paſhaws*, or any other words formed at pleaſure, ſerve to diſtinguiſh thoſe who are in the miniſtry, from others who would be in it if they could? What, for inſtance, is eaſier than to vary the form of ſpeech? and, inſtead of the word *church*, make it a queſtion in politics, whether the *monument* be in danger? Becauſe religion was neareſt at hand to furniſh a few convenient phraſes, is our invention ſo barren, we can find no other? Suppoſe, for argument's ſake, that the *Tories* favoured Margarita, the *Whigs* Mrs. Tofts, and the *Trimmers* Valentini; * would not *Margaritans*, *Toftians*, and *Valentinians*, be very tolerable marks of diſtinction? The *Praſini* and *Veniti*, two moſt virulent factions in Italy, began (if I remember right) by a diſtinction of colours in ribbands: and we might contend, with as good a grace, about the dignity of the *blue* and the *green*; which would ſerve as properly to divide the court, the parliament, and the kingdom between them, as any terms of art whatſoever borrowed from religion.

* Italian ſingers then in vogue. Margarita was afterwards married to Dr. Pepuſche.

gion. And therefore I think there is little force in this objection againſt Chriſtianity, or proſpect of ſo great an advantage as is propoſed in the aboliſhing of it.

It is again objected, as a very abſurd ridiculous cuſtom, That a ſet of men ſhould be ſuffered, much leſs employed, and hired, to bawl one day in ſeven, againſt the lawfulneſs of thoſe methods moſt in uſe towards the purſuit of greatneſs, riches, and pleaſure, which are the conſtant practice of all men alive on the other ſix. But this objection is, I think, a little unworthy ſo refined an age as ours. Let us argue this matter calmly. I appeal to the breaſt of any polite freethinker, whether, in the purſuit of gratifying a predominant paſſion, he hath not always felt a wonderful incitement, by reflecting it was a thing forbidden: and therefore we ſee, in order to cultivate this taſte, the wiſdom of the nation hath taken ſpecial care, that the ladies ſhould be furniſhed with prohibited ſilks, and the men with prohibited wine. And, indeed, it were to be wiſhed, that ſome other prohibitions were promoted, in order to improve the pleaſures of the town, which, for want of ſuch expedients, begin already, as I am told, to flag and grow languid, giving way daily to cruel inroads from the ſpleen.

It is likewiſe propoſed, as a great advantage to the public, That if we once diſcard the ſyſtem of the goſpel, all religion will, of courſe, be baniſhed

ed for ever; and conſequently, along with it, thoſe grievous prejudices of education; which, under the names of *virtue*, *conſcience*, *honour*, *juſtice*, and the like, are ſo apt to diſturb the peace of human minds; and the notions whereof are ſo hard to be eradicated by right reaſon or free-thinking, ſometimes during the whole courſe of our lives.

Here, firſt, I obſerve how difficult it is to get rid of a phraſe, which the world is once grown fond of, though the occaſion that firſt produced it be entirely taken away. For ſeveral years paſt, if a man had but an ill-favoured noſe, the deep-thinkers of the age would, ſome way or other, contrive to impute the cauſe to the prejudice of his education. From this fountain are ſaid to be derived all our fooliſh notions of juſtice, piety, love of our country; all our opinions of God, or a future ſtate, heaven, hell, and the like: and there might formerly, perhaps, have been ſome pretence for this charge. But ſo effectual care hath been ſince taken to remove thoſe prejudices, by an entire change in the methods of education, that (with honour I mention it to our polite innovators) the young gentlemen who are now on the ſcene, ſeem to have not the leaſt tincture left of thoſe infuſions, or ſtring of thoſe weeds: and, by conſequence, the reaſon for aboliſhing nominal Chriſtianity upon that pretext, is wholly ceaſed.

For

For the reſt, it may perhaps admit a controverſy, whether the baniſhing all notions of religion whatſoever would be convenient for the vulgar. Not that I am, in the leaſt, of opinion with thoſe who hold religion to have been the invention of politicians, to keep the lower part of the world in awe, by the fear of inviſible powers; unleſs mankind were then very different from what it is now: for I look upon the maſs or body of our people here in England to be as free-thinkers, that is to ſay, as ſtanch unbelievers, as any of the higheſt rank. But I conceive ſome ſcattered notions about a ſuperior power, to be of ſingular uſe for the common people, as furniſhing excellent materials to keep children quiet, when they grow peeviſh, and providing topics of amuſement in a tedious winter night.

Laſtly, It is propoſed, as a ſingular advantage, That the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity will very much contribute to the uniting of *Proteſtants*, by enlarging the terms of communion, ſo as to take in all ſorts of *diſſenters*; who are now ſhut out of the pale upon account of a few ceremonies, which all ſides confeſs to be things indifferent: that this alone will effectually anſwer the great ends of a ſcheme for comprehenſion, by opening a large noble gate, at which all bodies may enter; whereas the chaffering with *diſſenters*, and dodging about this or the other ceremony, is but like opening a few wickets, and leaving them at jar, by which no more than one can get in at a time,

time, and that not without ſtooping, and fideling and ſqueezing his body.

To all this I anſwer, That there is one darling inclination of mankind, which uſually affects to be a retainer to religion, though ſhe be neither its parent, its godmother, or its friend; I mean the ſpirit of oppoſition, that lived long before Chriſtianity, and can eaſily ſubſiſt without it. Let us, for inſtance, examine wherein the oppoſition of ſectaries among us conſiſts. We ſhall find Chriſtianity to have no ſhare in it at all. Does the goſpel any where preſcribe a ſtarched ſqueezed, countenance, a ſtiff formal gait, a ſingularity of manners and habit, or any affected modes of ſpeech, different from the reaſonable part of mankind? Yet, if Chriſtianity do not lend its name to ſtand in the gap, and to employ or divert theſe humours, they muſt, of neceſſity, be ſpent in contraventions to the laws of the land, and diſturbance of the public peace. There is a portion of enthuſiaſm aſſigned to every nation, which, if it hath not proper objects to work on, will burſt out, and ſet all in a flame. If the quiet of a ſtate can be bought by only flinging men a few ceremonies to devour, it is a purchaſe no wiſe man would refuſe. Let the maſtiffs amuſe themſelves about a ſheep's ſkin ſtuffed with hay, provided it will keep them from worrying the flock. The inſtitution of convents abroad, ſeems, in one point, a ſtrain of great wiſdom; there being few irregularities in human paſſions,

that

that may not have recourſe to vent themſelves in ſome of thoſe orders; which are ſo many retreats for the ſpeculative, the melancholy, the proud, the ſilent, the politic, and the moroſe, to ſpend themſelves, and evaporate the noxious particles: for each of whom, we, in this iſland, are forced to provide ſeveral ſects of religion, to keep them quiet. And whenever Chriſtianity ſhall be aboliſhed, the legiſlature muſt find ſome other expedient to employ and entertain them. For, what imports it, how large a gate you open, if there will be always left a number, who place a pride and a merit in refuſing to enter?

Having thus conſidered the moſt important objections againſt Chriſtianity, and the chief advantages propoſed by the aboliſhing thereof; I ſhall now, with equal deference and ſubmiſſion to wiſer judgments, as before, proceed to mention a few inconveniencies that may happen, if the goſpel ſhould be repealed; which, perhaps, the projectors may not have ſufficiently conſidered.

And, firſt, I am very ſenſible how much the gentlemen of wit and pleaſure are apt to murmur, and be ſhocked at the ſight of ſo many daggled-tail parſons, who happen to fall in their way, and offend their eyes. But, at the ſame time, theſe wiſe reformers do not conſider, what an advantage and felicity it is, for great wits to be always provided with objects of ſcorn and contempt, in order to exerciſe and improve their talents, and divert their ſpleen from falling on each other, or

on themſelves; eſpecially when all this may be done without the leaſt imaginable danger to their perſons.

And, to urge another argument of a parallel nature: If Chriſtianity were once aboliſhed, how could the free-thinkers, the ſtrong reaſoners, and the men of profound learning, be able to find another ſubject ſo calculated, in all points, whereon to diſplay their abilities? What wonderful productions of wit ſhould we be deprived of, from thoſe, whoſe genius, by continual practice, hath been wholly turned upon raillery and invectives againſt religion, and would therefore never be able to ſhine, or diſtinguiſh themſelves upon any other ſubject? We are daily complaining of the great decline of wit among us; and, would we take away the greateſt, perhaps the only topic we have left? Who would ever have ſuſpected Aſgil for a wit, or Toland for a philoſopher, if the inexhauſtible ſtock of Chriſtianity had not been at hand to provide them with materials? What other ſubject, through all art or nature, could have produced Tindal for a profound author, or furniſhed him with readers? It is the wiſe choice of the ſubject, that alone adorns and diſtinguiſhes the writer. For, had an hundred ſuch pens as theſe been employed on the ſide of religion, they would have immediately ſunk into ſilence and oblivion.

Nor do I think it wholly groundleſs, or my fears altogether imaginary, that the aboliſhing of Chriſtianity

Chriſtianity may perhaps bring the church in danger, or at leaſt put the ſenate to the trouble of another ſecuring vote. I deſire I may not be miſtaken. I am far from preſuming to affirm, or think, that the church is in danger at preſent, or as things now ſtand; but we know not how ſoon it may be ſo, when the Chriſtian religion is repealed. As plauſible as this project ſeems, there may be a dangerous deſign lurking under it. Nothing can be more notorious, than that the *Atheiſts Deiſts, Socinians, Antitrinitarians,* and other ſubdiviſions of free-thinkers, are perſons of little zeal for the preſent eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Their declared opinion is for repealing the ſacramental teſt; they are very indifferent with regard to ceremonies; nor do they hold the *jus divinum* of Epiſcopacy. Therefore, this may be intended as one politic ſtep towards altering the conſtitution of the church eſtabliſhed, and ſetting up *Preſbytery* in the ſtead; which I leave to be further conſidered by thoſe at the helm.

In the laſt place, I think nothing can be more plain, than that, by this expedient, we ſhall run into the evil we chiefly pretend to avoid; and that the aboliſhment of the *Chriſtian* religion, will be the readieſt courſe we can take to introduce Popery. And I am the more inclined to this opinion, becauſe we know it hath been the conſtant practice of the *Jeſuits*, to ſend over emiſſaries, with inſtructions to perſonate themſelves members of the ſeveral prevailing ſects a-

mong us. So it is recorded, that they have, at ſundry times, appeared in the guiſe of *Preſbyterians*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Independents*, and *Quakers*, according as any of theſe were moſt in credit: ſo, ſince the faſhion hath been taken up, of exploding religion, the *Popiſh* miſſionaries have not been wanting to mix with the free-thinkers; among whom, Toland, the great oracle of the *Antichriſtians*, is an Iriſh prieſt, the ſon of an Iriſh prieſt; and the moſt learned and ingenious author of a book called the *rights of the Chriſtian church*, was, in a proper juncture, reconciled to the Romiſh faith; whoſe true ſon, as appears by a hundred paſſages in this treatiſe, he ſtill continues. Perhaps I could add ſome others to the number: but the fact is beyond diſpute. And the reaſoning they proceed by, is right: for, ſuppoſing Chriſtianity to be extinguiſhed, the people will never be at eaſe till they find out ſome other method of worſhip; which will as infallibly produce ſuperſtition, as ſuperſtition will end in *Popery*.

And therefore, if, notwithſtanding all I have ſaid, it ſtill be thought neceſſary to have a bill brought in for repealing Chriſtianity, I would humbly offer an amendment, that, inſtead of the word *Chriſtianity*, may be put *religion* in general; which, I conceive, will much better anſwer all the good ends propoſed by the projectors of it. For, as long as we leave in being a God, and his Providence, with all the neceſſary conſequences which curious and inquiſitive men will be

be apt to draw from ſuch premiſes; we do not ſtrike at the root of the evil, though we ſhould ever ſo effectually annihilate the preſent ſcheme of the goſpel. For, of what uſe is freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action; which is the ſole end, how remote ſoever in appearance, of all objections againſt Chriſtianity? and therefore, the free-thinkers conſider it as a ſort of edifice, wherein all the parts have ſuch a mutual dependence on each other, that, if you happen to pull out one ſingle nail, the whole fabric muſt fall to the ground. This was happily expreſſed by him, who had heard of a text brought for proof of the Trinity, which, in an ancient manuſcript, was differently read; he thereupon immediately took the hint, and, by a ſudden deduction of a long *ſorites**, moſt logically concluded, Why, if it be as you ſay, I may ſafely whore and drink on, and defy the parſon. From which, and many the like inſtances, eaſy to be produced, I think nothing can be more manifeſt, than that the quarrel is not againſt any particular points of hard digeſtion in the Chriſtian ſyſtem, but againſt religion in general; which, by laying reſtraints on human nature, is ſuppoſed the great enemy to the freedom of thought and action.

* A *ſorites* differs from a ſyllogiſm, in that it takes only the minor propoſition. An example of this figure may be ſeen, Vol. VII. in John Bull, part 2. chap. 17. near the end. *Hawkeſ.*

Upon the whole, if it ſhall be thought for the benefit of church and ſtate, that Chriſtianity be aboliſhed; I conceive, however, it may be more convenient to defer the execution to a time of peace; and not venture, in this conjuncture, to diſoblige our allies; who, as it falls out, are all Chriſtians; and many of them, by the prejudices of their education, ſo bigotted, as to place a ſort of pride in the appellation. If, upon being rejected by them, we are to truſt, to an alliance with the Turk, we ſhall find ourſelves much deceived; for, as he is too remote, and generally engaged in war with the Perſian Emperor, ſo his people would be more ſcandalized at our infidelity, than our Chriſtian neighbours. For, the Turks are not only ſtrict obſervers of religious worſhip, but, what is worſe, believe a God; which is more than is required of us, even while we preſerve the name of Chriſtians.

To conclude: Whatever ſome may think of the great advantages to trade by this favourite ſcheme, I do very much apprehend, that, in ſix months time after the act is paſſed for the extirpation of the goſpel, the Bank and Eaſt-India ſtock may fall, at leaſt, one *per cent.* And ſince that is fifty times more than ever the wiſdom of our age thought fit to venture for the *preſervation* of Chriſtianity, there is no reaſon we ſhould be at ſo great a loſs, merely for the ſake of *deſtroying* it.

A PROJECT

A PROJECT for the ADVANCEMENT of RELIGION, and the REFORMATION of MANNERS*.

By a PERSON of QUALITY.

Written in the year 1709.

To the Counteſs of BERKELEY‡.

MADAM,

MY intention, in prefixing your Ladyſhip's name, is not, after the common form, to deſire your protection of the following papers; which

* The author appears in earneſt throughout this whole treatiſe; and the dedication, or introduction, is in a ſtrain of ſerious panegyric, which the Lady, to whom it is addreſſed, undoubtedly deſerved. But, as the pamphlet is of the ſatirical kind, I am apt to imagine, that the Dean put a violence upon himſelf, in chuſing to appear candidly ſerious, rather than to ſmile, under his uſual maſk of gravity. Methinks, upon theſe occaſions, I perceive him writing in ſhackles. *Orrery.*

In the *Project*, &c. Dr. Swift appears in the character of a great inſpired prophet. *He crieth aloud, he ſpareth not, he lifteth up his voice like a trumpet*, Iſa. lviii. 1. He rebuketh all ranks of men, for their depravities and corruptions, their profaneneſs, their blaſphemy and irreligion. His diſcourſe he addreſſeth unto his ſovereign, and, beyond all contradiction, proveth it to be an important duty incumbent on all princes, to encourage and to enforce morals and religion, by exerting their utmoſt authority. He then applieth himſelf to the legiſlature, conjuring them to forward ſo noble a deſign, and to provide remedies againſt that torrent of iniquity, which, if not vigorouſly oppoſed, would certainly increaſe, and never ſtop in its career, until it ſubverted the conſtitution. And, finally, he declares, in the prophetic ſtyle and ſpirit, that a reformation of manners, and turning unto God, are the beſt natural, as well as religious means, to bring the war to an happy concluſion. *Swift.*

‡ This excellent Lady, was Elizabeth, the daughter of Baptiſt Noel, Viſcount Campden, and ſiſter to Edward Earl of Gainſborough. *Hawkeſ.*

which I take to be a very unreaſonable requ
ſince, by being inſcribed to your Ladyſhip, tho
without your knowledge, and from a conce
hand, you cannot recommend them without ſ
ſuſpicion of partiality. My real deſign is, I
feſs, the very ſame I have often deteſted in
dedications, that of publiſhing your praiſe
the world; not upon the ſubject of your n
birth, for I know others as noble; or of the g
neſs of your fortune, for I know others far g
er; or of that beautiful race, (the image
their parents,) which calls you mother; for
this may perhaps have been equalled in ſom
ther age or country. Beſides, none of theſe
vantages do derive any accompliſhments t
owners, but ſerve, at beſt, only to adorn
they really poſſeſs. What I intend, is your p
truth, good ſenſe, and good nature, affability,
charity; wherein I wiſh your Ladyſhip had
ny equals, or any ſuperiors; and I wiſh I
ſay, I knew them too; for then your Lad
might have had a chance to eſcape this ad
In the mean time, I think it highly nece
for the intereſt of virtue and religion, tha
whole kingdom ſhould be informed in ſome
of your character: for inſtance, That the e
and politeſt converſation, joined with the
piety, may be obſerved in your Ladyſhip,
great perfection as they were ever ſeen ap
any other perſon: That, by your prudenc
management, under ſeveral diſadvantages,

have preſerved the luſtre of that moſt noble family into which you are graffed, and which the unmeaſurable profuſion of anceſtors, for many generations, had too much eclipſed: Then, how happily you perform every office of life, to which Providence hath called you; in the education of thoſe two incomparable daughters, whoſe conduct is ſo univerſally admired; in every duty of a prudent, complying, affectionate wife; in that care which deſcends to the meaneſt of your domeſtics; and, laſtly, in that endleſs bounty to the poor, and diſcretion where to diſtribute it. I inſiſt on my opinion, that it is of importance for the public, to know this, and a great deal more of your Ladyſhip; yet, whoever goes about to inform them, ſhall, inſtead of finding credit, perhaps be cenſured for a flatterer. To avoid ſo uſual a reproach, I declare this to be no dedication, but merely an introduction to a propoſal for the advancement of religion and morals, by tracing, however imperfectly, ſome few lineaments in the character of a Lady, who hath ſpent all her life in the practice and promotion of both.

AMONG all the ſchemes offered to the public in this projecting age, I have obſerved, with ſome diſpleaſure, that there have never been any for the improvement of religion and morals: which, beſides the piety of the deſign, from the conſequence of ſuch a reformation in a future life, would be the beſt natural means for advancing

cing the public felicity of the ſtate, as well as the preſent happineſs of every individual. For as much as faith and morality are declined among us, I am altogether confident, they might, in a ſhort time, and with no very great trouble, be raiſed to as high a perfection as numbers are capable of receiving. Indeed the method is ſo eaſy and obvious, and ſome preſent opportunities ſo good, that, in order to have this project reduced to practice, there ſeems to want nothing more than to put thoſe in mind, who, by their honour, duty, and intereſt, are chiefly concerned.

But becauſe it is idle to propoſe remedies, before we are aſſured of the diſeaſe, or to be in fear, till we are convinced of the danger; I ſhall firſt ſhew, in general, that the nation is extremely corrupted in religion and morals; and then I will offer a ſhort ſcheme for the reformation of both.

As to the firſt, I know it is reckoned but a form of ſpeech, when divines complain of the wickedneſs of the age. However, I believe, upon a fair compariſon with other times and countries, it would be found an undoubted truth.

For, firſt, to deliver nothing but plain matter of fact, without exaggeration or ſatire, I ſuppoſe it will be granted, that hardly one in an hundred among our people of quality or gentry, appears to act by any principle of religion; that great numbers of them do entirely diſcard it, and are ready to own their diſbelief of all revelation, in ordinary diſcourſe. Nor is the caſe much better among

among the vulgar, eſpecially in great towns, where the profaneneſs and ignorance of handicraftſmen, ſmall traders, ſervants, and the like, are to a degree very hard to be imagined greater. Then it is obſerved abroad, that no race of mortals hath ſo little ſenſe of religion, as the Engliſh ſoldiers. To confirm which, I have been often told by great officers of the army, that, in the whole compaſs of their acquaintance, they could not recollect three of their profeſſion, who ſeemed to regard or believe one ſyllable of the goſpel. And the ſame at leaſt may be affirmed of the fleet. The conſequences of all which, upon the actions of men, are equally manifeſt. They never go about, as in former times, to hide or palliate their vices, but expoſe them freely to view, like any other common occurrences of life, without the leaſt reproach from the world or themſelves. For inſtance, any man will tell you, he intends to be drunk this evening, or was ſo laſt night, with as little ceremony or ſcruple, as he would tell you the time of the day. He will let you know he is going to a wench, or that he has got a clap, with as much indifferency as he would a piece of public news. He will ſwear, curſe, or blaſpheme, without the leaſt paſſion or provocation. And, though all regard for reputation is not quite laid aſide in the other ſex, it is however at ſo low an ebb, that very few among them ſeem to think virtue and conduct of any neceſſity for preſerving it. If this be not ſo, how comes it

it to paſs, that women of tainted reputations find the ſame countenance and reception in all public places, with thoſe of the niceſt virtue, who pay and receive viſits from them, without any manner of ſcruple? Which proceeding, as it is not very old among us, ſo I take it to be of moſt pernicious conſequence. It looks like a ſort of compounding between virtue and vice; as if a woman were allowed to be vicious, provided ſhe be not a profligate; as if there were a certain point where gallantry ends, and infamy begins; or that an hundred criminal amours were not as pardonable as half a ſcore.

Beſides thoſe corruptions already mentioned, it would be endleſs to enumerate ſuch as ariſe from the exceſs of play or gaming; the cheats, the quarrels, the oaths and blaſphemies among the men; among the women, the neglect of houſhold affairs, the unlimited freedoms, the indecent paſſion; and, laſtly, the known inlet to all lewdneſs, when, after an ill run, the *perſon* muſt anſwer the defects of the *purſe:* the rule on ſuch occaſions holding true in play, as it does in law, *Quod non habet in crumena, luat in corpore.*

But all theſe are trifles in compariſon, if we ſtep into other ſcenes, and conſider the fraud and cozenage of trading men and ſhopkeepers; that inſatiable gulf of injuſtice and oppreſſion, the *law;* the open traffic of all civil and military employments, (I wiſh it reſted there *,) without the leaſt

* Perhaps the author intended to intimate that it extended to eccleſiaſtical. *Hawkeſ.*

leaſt regard to merit or qualifications; the corrupt management of men in office, the many deteſtable abuſes in chuſing thoſe who repreſent the people, with the management of intereſts and factions among the repreſentatives; to which I muſt be bold to add, the ignorance of ſome of the lower clergy, the mean ſervile temper of others, the pert pragmatical demeanour of ſeveral young ſtagers in divinity, upon their firſt producing themſelves into the world, with many other circumſtances needleſs, or rather invidious to mention; which, falling in with the corruptions already related, have, however unjuſtly, almoſt rendered the whole order contemptible.

This is a ſhort view of the general depravities among us, without entering into particulars, which would be an endleſs labour. Now, as univerſal and deep-rooted as theſe appear to be, I am utterly deceived, if an effectual remedy might not be applied to moſt of them; neither am I at preſent upon a wild ſpeculative project, but ſuch a one as may be eaſily put in execution.

For, while the prerogative of giving all employments continues in the crown, either immediately, or by ſubordination, it is in the power of the *prince* to make piety and virtue become the faſhion of the age, if, at the ſame time, he would make them neceſſary qualifications for favour and preferment.

It is clear, from preſent experience, that the bare example of the beſt prince will not have any

mighty influence, where the age is very corrupt. For, when was there ever a better prince on the throne than the preſent Queen? I do not talk of her talent for government, her love of the people, or any other qualities that are purely regal; but her piety, charity, temperance, conjugal love, and whatever other virtues do beſt adorn a private life; wherein, without queſtion or flattery, ſhe hath no ſuperior: yet neither will it be ſatire, or peeviſh invective, to affirm, that infidelity and vice are not much diminiſhed ſince her coming to the crown; nor will, in probability, till more effectual remedies be provided.

Thus human nature ſeems to ly under the diſadvantage, that the example alone of a vicious prince, will, in time, corrupt an age, but the example of a good one will not be ſufficient to reform it, without further endeavours. Princes muſt therefore ſupply this defect, by a vigorous exerciſe of that authority which the law has left them, by making it every man's intereſt and honour to cultivate religion and virtue, by rendering vice a diſgrace, and the certain ruin to preferment or pretenſions: all which they ſhould firſt attempt in their own courts and families. For inſtance, might not the Queen's domeſtics of the middle and lower ſort, be obliged, upon penalty of ſuſpenſion, or loſs of their employments, to a conſtant weekly attendance on the ſervice of the church; to a decent behaviour in it; to receive the ſacrament four times a year; to avoid ſwearing,

ſwearing, and irreligious profane diſcourſes, and to the appearance, at leaſt, of temperance and chaſtity? Might not the care of all this be committed to the ſtrict inſpection of proper officers? Might not thoſe of higher rank, and nearer acceſs to her Majeſty, receive her own commands to the ſame purpoſe, and be countenanced or diſfavoured according as they obey? Might not the Queen lay her injunctions on the biſhops, and other great men of undoubted piety, to make diligent enquiry, and give her notice, if any perſon about her ſhould happen to be of libertine principles or morals? Might not all thoſe who enter upon any office in her Majeſty's family, be obliged to take an oath parallel with that againſt ſimony, which is adminiſtered to the clergy? It is not to be doubted, but that, if theſe, or the like proceedings, were duly obſerved, morality and religion would ſoon become faſhionable court-virtues, and be taken up as the only methods to get or keep employments there; which alone would have mighty influence upon many of the nobility and principal gentry.

But if the like methods were purſued, as far as poſſible, with regard to thoſe who are in the great employments of ſtate, it is hard to conceive how general a reformation they might, in time, produce among us. For if piety and virtue were once reckoned qualifications neceſſary to preferment, every man thus endowed, when put into great ſtations, would readily imitate the Queen's

example, in the diſtribution of all offices in his diſpoſal; eſpecially if any apparent tranſgreſſion, through favour or partiality, would be imputed to him for a miſdemeanor, by which he muſt certainly forfeit his favour and ſtation. And there being ſuch great numbers in employment, ſcattered through every town and county in this kingdom; if all theſe were exemplary in the conduct of their lives, things would ſoon take a new face, and religion receive a mighty encouragement. Nor would the public weal be leſs advanced; ſince, of nine offices in ten that are ill executed, the defect is not in capacity or underſtanding, but in common honeſty. I know no employment, for which piety diſqualifies any man: and if it did, I doubt the objection would not be very ſeaſonably offered at preſent; becauſe it is perhaps too juſt a reflection, that, in the diſpoſal of places, the queſtion, whether a perſon be *fit* for what he is recommended to? is generally the laſt that is thought on, or regarded.

I have often imagined, that ſomething parallel to the office of cenſors anciently in Rome, would be of mighty uſe among us, and could be eaſily limited from running into any exorbitances. The Romans underſtood liberty at leaſt as well as we, were as jealous of it, and, upon every occaſion, as bold aſſerters: yet I do not remember to have read any great complaints of the abuſes in that office among them; but many admirable effects of it are left upon record. There are ſeveral pernicious

nicious vices frequent and notorious among us, that eſcape or elude the puniſhment of any law we have yet invented, or have had no law at all againſt them; ſuch as atheiſm, drunkenneſs, fraud, avarice, and ſeveral others; which, by this inſtitution, wiſely regulated, might be much reformed. Suppoſe, for inſtance, that itinerary commiſſioners were appointed to inſpect, every where throughout the kingdom, into the conduct (at leaſt) of men in office, with reſpect to their morals and religion, as well as their abilities; to receive the complaints and informations that ſhould be offered againſt them, and make their report here upon oath, to the court or the miniſtry, who ſhould reward or puniſh accordingly. I avoid entering into the particulars of this, or any other ſcheme; which, coming from a private hand, might be liable to many defects, but would ſoon be digeſted by the wiſdom of the nation. And, ſurely, ſix thouſand pounds a-year would not be ill laid out among as many commiſſioners duly qualified, who, in three diviſions, ſhould be perſonally obliged to take their yearly circuits for that purpoſe.

But this is beſide my preſent deſign; which was only to ſhew what degree of reformation is in the power of the Queen, without the interpoſition of the legiſlature; and which her Majeſty is, without queſtion, obliged in conſcience to endeavour by her authority, as much as ſhe doth by her practice.

It will be eaſily granted, that the example of this great town hath a mighty influence over the whole kingdom; and it is as manifeſt, that the town is equally influenced by the court, and the miniſtry, and thoſe who, by their employments or their hopes, depend upon them. Now, if, under ſo excellent a princeſs as the preſent Queen, we would ſuppoſe a family ſtrictly regulated, as I have above propoſed; a miniſtry where every ſingle perſon was of diſtinguiſhed piety; if we ſhould ſuppoſe all great offices of ſtate and law filled after the ſame manner, and with ſuch as were equally diligent in chuſing perſons, who, in their ſeveral ſubordinations, would be obliged to follow the examples of their ſuperiors, under the penalty of loſs of favour and place; will not every body grant, that the empire of vice and irreligion would be ſoon deſtroyed in this great metropolis, and receive a terrible blow through the whole iſland, which hath ſo great an intercourſe with it, and ſo much affects to follow its faſhions?

For, if religion were once underſtood to be the neceſſary ſtep to favour and preferment, can it be imagined that any man would openly offend againſt it, who had the leaſt regard for his reputation or his fortune? There is no quality ſo contrary to any nature, which men cannot affect, and put on upon occaſion, in order to ſerve an intereſt, or gratify a prevailing paſſion. The proudeſt man will perſonate humility, the moroſeſt learn to flatter, the lazieſt will be ſedulous and active, where

where he is in purſuit of what he hath much at heart: how ready, therefore, would moſt men be to ſtep into the paths of virtue and piety, if they infallibly led to favour and fortune!

If ſwearing and profaneneſs, ſcandalous and avowed lewdneſs, exceſſive gaming and intemperance, were a little diſcountenanced in the army, I cannot readily ſee what ill conſequences could be apprehended. If gentlemen of that profeſſion were at leaſt obliged to ſome external decorum in their conduct; or even if a profligate life and character were not a means of advancement, and the appearance of piety a moſt infallible hinderance, it is impoſſible the corruptions there, ſhould be ſo univerſal and exorbitant. I have been aſſured by ſeveral great officers, that no troops abroad are ſo ill diſciplined as the Engliſh; which cannot well be otherwiſe, while the common ſoldiers have perpetually before their eyes, the vitious example of their leaders; and it is hardly poſſible for thoſe to commit any crime, whereof theſe are not infinitely more guilty, and with leſs temptation.

It is commonly charged upon the gentlemen of the army, that the beaſtly vice of drinking to exceſs, hath been lately, from their example, reſtored among us; which, for ſome years before, was almoſt dropt in England. But, whoever the introducers were, they have ſucceeded to a miracle; many of the young nobility and gentry are already become great proficients, and are under

der no manner of concern to hide their talent, but are got beyond all ſenſe of ſhame, or fear of reproach.

This might ſoon be remedied, if the Queen would think fit to declare, that no young perſon of quality whatſoever, who was notoriouſly addicted to that, or any other vice, ſhould be capable of her favour, or even admitted into her preſence; with poſitive command to her miniſters, and others in great office, to treat them in the ſame manner: after which, all men who had any regard for their reputation, or any proſpect of preferment, would avoid their commerce. This would quickly make that vice ſo ſcandalous, that thoſe who could not ſubdue, would at leaſt endeavour to diſguiſe it.

By the like methods, a ſtop might be put to that ruinous practice of deep gaming: and the reaſon why it prevails ſo much, is, becauſe a treatment, *directly oppoſite* in every point, is made uſe of to promote it; by which means, the laws enacted againſt this abuſe, are wholly eluded.

It cannot be denied, that the want of ſtrict diſcipline in the univerſities hath been of pernicious conſequence to the youth of this nation, who are there almoſt left entirely to their own management, eſpecially thoſe among them of better quality and fortune; who, becauſe they are not under a neceſſity of making learning their maintenance, are eaſily allowed to paſs their time, and take their degrees with little or no improvement.

Tham

Than which, there cannot well be a greater abſurdity. For, if no advancement of knowledge can be had from thoſe places, the time there ſpent, is at beſt utterly loſt; becauſe every ornamental part of education is better taught elſewhere. And as for keeping youths out of harm's way, I doubt, where ſo many of them are got together, at full liberty of doing what they pleaſe, it will not anſwer the end. But whatever abuſes, corruptions, or deviations from ſtatutes have crept into the univerſities, through neglect or length of time, they might in a great degree be reformed, by ſtrict injunctions from court (upon each particular) to the viſitors and heads of houſes; beſides the peculiar authority the Queen may have in ſeveral colleges, whereof her predeceſſors were the founders. And, among other regulations, it would be very convenient to prevent the exceſs of drinking, with that ſcurvy cuſtom among the lads, and parent of the former vice, the taking of tobacco, where it is not abſolutely neceſſary in point of health.

From the univerſities, the young nobility, and others of great fortunes, are ſent for early up to town, for fear of contracting any airs of pedantry by a college-education. Many of the younger gentry retire to the inns of court, where they are wholly left to their own diſcretion. And the conſequence of their remiſſneſs in education, appears, by obſerving, that nine in ten of thoſe who riſe in the church or the court, the law or the army,

army, are younger brothers, or new men, whoſe narrow fortunes have forced them upon induſtry and application.

As for the inns of court, unleſs we ſuppoſe them to be much degenerated, they muſt needs be the worſt inſtituted ſeminaries in any Chriſtian country; but whether they may be corrected without interpoſition of the legiſlature, I have not ſkill enough to determine. However, it is certain, that all wiſe nations have agreed in the neceſſity of a ſtrict education; which conſiſted, among other things, in the obſervance of moral duties, eſpecially juſtice, temperance, and chaſtity, as well as the knowledge of arts, and bodily exerciſes. But all theſe, among us, are laughed out of doors.

Without the leaſt intention to offend the clergy, I cannot but think, that, through a miſtaken notion and practice, they prevent themſelves from doing much ſervice, which otherwiſe might lie in their power, to religion and virtue: I mean, by affecting ſo much to converſe with each other, and caring ſo little to mingle with the laity. They have their particular clubs, and particular coffeehouſes, where they generally appear in cluſters. A ſingle divine dares hardly ſhew his perſon among numbers of fine gentlemen; or if he happens to fall into ſuch company, he is ſilent and ſuſpicious, in continual apprehenſion that ſome pert man of pleaſure ſhould break an unmannerly jeſt, and render him ridiculous. Now I tak

ake this behaviour of the clergy to be juſt as ſonable, as if the phyſicians ſhould agree to end their time in viſiting one another, or their eral apothecaries, and leave their patients to ift for themſelves. In my humble opinion, the ergy's buſineſs lies entirely among the laity: either is there, perhaps, a more effectual way to rward the ſalvation of mens ſouls, than for ſpiitual perſons to make themſelves as agreeable as ey can in the converſations of the world; for hich a learned education gives them great adantage, if they would pleaſe to improve and apy it. It ſo happens, that the *men of pleaſure*, ho never go to church, nor uſe themſelves to ead books of devotion, form their ideas of the ergy from a few poor ſtrollers they often oberve in the ſtreets, or ſneaking out of ſome perſon of quality's houſe, where they are hired by he lady at ten ſhillings a-month: while thoſe of etter figure and parts, do ſeldom appear to corect theſe notions. And, let ſome reaſoners hink what they pleaſe, it is certain, that men nuſt be brought to eſteem and love the clergy, efore they can be perſuaded to be in love with eligion. No man values the beſt medicine, if dminiſtered by a phyſician whoſe perſon he hates r deſpiſes. If the clergy were as forward to apear in all companies, as other gentlemen, and ould a little ſtudy the arts of converſation, to ake themſelves agreeable, they might be welome to every party, where there was the leaſt regard

regard for politeneſs or good ſenſe; and conſequently prevent a thouſand vitious or profane diſcourſes, as well as actions: neither would men of underſtanding complain, that a clergyman was a conſtraint upon the company, becauſe they could not ſpeak blaſphemy, or obſcene jeſts before him. While the people are ſo jealous of the clergy's ambition, as to abhor all thoughts of the return of eccleſiaſtic diſcipline among them, I do not ſee any other method left for men of that function to take, in order to reform the world, than by uſing all honeſt arts to make themſelves acceptable to the laity. This, no doubt, is part of that wiſdom of the ſerpent, which the author of Chriſtianity directs; and is the very method uſed by St. Paul, who *became all things to all men, to the Jews a Jew, and a Greek to the Greeks.*

How to remedy theſe inconveniences, may be a matter of ſome difficulty; ſince the clergy ſeem to be of an opinion, that this humour of ſequeſtering themſelves, is a part of their duty; nay, as I remember, they have been told ſo by ſome of their biſhops in their paſtoral letters, particularly by *one* * among them of great merit and diſtinction; who yet, in his own practice, hath all his life-time taken a courſe directly contrary. But I am deceived, if an awkward ſhame, and fear of ill uſage from the laity, have not a greater ſhare in this miſtaken conduct, than their own inclinations. However, if the outward profeſſion of

* Suppoſed to be Dr. Burnet, biſhop of Saliſbury.

of religion and virtue were once in practice and countenance at court, as well as among all men in office, or who have any hopes or dependence for preferment, a good treatment of the clergy would be the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch a reformation; and they would ſoon be wiſe enough to ſee their own duty and intereſt, in qualifying themſelves for lay converſation, when once they were out of fear of being choked by ribaldry or profaneneſs.

There is one further circumſtance upon this occaſion, which I know not whether it will be very orthodox to mention. The clergy are the only ſet of men among us, who conſtantly wear a diſtinct habit from others: the conſequence of which (not in reaſon, but in fact) is this, that as long as any ſcandalous perſons appear in that dreſs, it will continue, in ſome degree, a general mark of contempt. Whoever happens to ſee a *ſcoundrel in a gown*, reeling home at midnight, (a ſight neither *frequent* or *miraculous*,) is apt to entertain an ill idea of the whole order, and at the ſame time to be extremely comforted in his own vices. Some remedy might be put to this, if thoſe ſtraggling gentlemen, who come up to town to *ſeek their fortunes*, were fairly diſmiſſed to the Weſt Indies; where there is work enough, and where ſome better proviſion ſhould be made for them, than I doubt there is at preſent. Or, what if no perſon were allowed to wear the habit, who had not ſome preferment in the church,

or at leaſt ſome temporal fortune ſufficient to keep him out of contempt? though, in my opinion, it were infinitely better, if all the clergy (except the biſhops) were permitted to appear like other men of the graver ſort, unleſs at thoſe ſeaſons when they are doing the buſineſs of their function.

There is one abuſe in this town, which wonderfully contributes to the promotion of vice; that ſuch men are often put into the commiſſion of the peace, whoſe intereſt it is, that virtue ſhould be utterly baniſhed from among us; who maintain, or at leaſt enrich themſelves by encouraging the groſſeſt immoralities; to whom all the *bawds* of the *ward* pay contribution for ſhelter and protection from the laws. Thus theſe worthy magiſtrates, inſtead of leſſening enormities, are the occaſion of juſt twice as much debauchery as there would be without them. For thoſe infamous women are forced upon doubling their work and induſtry, to anſwer double charges, of paying the juſtice, and ſupporting themſelves; like thieves who eſcape the gallows, and are let out to ſteal, in order to diſcharge the gaoler's fees.

It is not to be queſtioned, but the Queen and miniſtry might eaſily redreſs this abominable grievance, by enlarging the number of juſtices of the peace, by endeavouring to chuſe men of virtuous principles, by admitting none who have not conſiderable fortunes; perhaps, by receiving into

into the number, ſome of the moſt eminent clergy: then, by forcing all of them, upon ſevere penalties, to act when there is occaſion, and not permitting any who are offered, to refuſe the commiſſion. But, in theſe two laſt caſes, which are very material, I doubt there will be need of the legiſlature.

The reformation of the ſtage is entirely in the power of the Queen; and, in the conſequences it hath upon the minds of young people, doth very well deſerve the ſtricteſt care. Beſides the indecent and profane paſſages; beſides the perpetual turning into ridicule the very function of the prieſthood, with other irregularities, in moſt modern comedies, which have been often objected to them; it is worth obſerving the diſtributive juſtice of the authors, which is conſtantly applied to the puniſhment of virtue, and the reward of vice; directly oppoſite to the rules of their beſt critics, as well as to the practice of dramatic poets in all other ages and countries. For example, a country 'ſquire, who is repreſented with no other vice but that of being a clown, and having the provincial accent upon his tongue, which is neither a fault, nor in his power to remedy, muſt be condemned to marry a caſt wench, or a cracked chambermaid. On the other ſide, a rake-hell of the town, whoſe character is ſet off with no other accompliſhment but exceſſive prodigality, profaneneſs, intemperance, and luſt, is rewarded with a lady of great fortune to repair his own,

which his vices had almoſt ruined. And as, in a tragedy, the hero is repreſented to have obtained many victories, in order to raiſe his character in the minds of the ſpectators; ſo the hero of a comedy is repreſented to have been victorious in all his intrigues, for the ſame reaſon. I do not remember, that our Engliſh poets ever ſuffered a criminal amour to ſucceed upon the ſtage, till the reign of King Charles II. Ever ſince that time, the alderman is made a cuckold, the deluded virgin is debauched, and adultery and fornication are ſuppoſed to be committed behind the ſcenes, as part of the action. Theſe, and many more corruptions of the theatre, peculiar to our age and nation, need continue no longer, than while the court is content to connive at, or neglect them. Surely, a penſion would not be ill employed on ſome men of wit, learning, and virtue, who might have power to ſtrike out every offenſive or unbecoming paſſage from plays already written, as well as thoſe that may be offered to the ſtage for the future. By which, and other wiſe regulations, the theatre might become a very innocent and uſeful diverſion, inſtead of being a ſcandal and reproach to our religion and country.

The propoſals I have hitherto made for the advancement of religion and morality, are ſuch as come within the reach of the adminiſtration; ſuch as a pious active prince, with a ſteady reſolution, might ſoon bring to effect. Neither am I aware of any objections to be raiſed againſt what

what I have advanced; unleſs it ſhould be thought, that the making religion a neceſſary ſtep to intereſt and favour, might increaſe hypocriſy among us: and I readily believe it would. But if one in twenty ſhould be brought over to true piety, by this or the like methods, and the other nineteen be only hypocrites, the advantage would ſtill be great. Beſides, hypocriſy is much more eligible, than open infidelity and vice: it wears the livery of religion; it acknowledges her authority, and is cautious of giving ſcandal. Nay, a long continued diſguiſe is too great a conſtraint upon human nature, eſpecially an Engliſh diſpoſition. Men would leave off their vices out of mere wearineſs, rather than undergo the toil and hazard, and perhaps the expence, of practiſing them perpetually in private. And I believe it is often with religion, as it is with love; which, by much diſſembling, at laſt grows real.

All other projects to this great end, have proved hitherto ineffectual. Laws againſt immorality have not been executed; and proclamations occaſionally iſſued out to inforce them, are wholly unregarded, as things of form. Religious ſocieties, though begun with excellent intention, and by perſons of true piety, are ſaid, I know not whether truly or no, to have dwindled into factious clubs, and grown a trade to enrich little knaviſh informers of the meaneſt rank, ſuch as common conſtables, and broken ſhopkeepers.

And that ſome effectual attempt ſhould be made toward ſuch a reformation, is perhaps more ne-

ceſſary than people commonly apprehend; becauſe the ruin of a ſtate is generally preceded by an univerſal degeneracy of manners, and contempt of religion; which is entirely our caſe at preſent.

Diis te minorem, quod geris, imperas. Hor.

Neither is this a matter to be deferred, till a more convenient time of peace and leiſure. A reformation in mens faith and morals, is the beſt natural, as well as religious means, to bring the war to a good concluſion: becauſe, if men in truſt performed their duty for conſcience ſake, affairs would not ſuffer through fraud, falſehood, and neglect, as they now perpetually do. And if they believed a God, and his Providence, and acted accordingly, they might reaſonably hope for his divine aſſiſtance in ſo juſt a cauſe as ours.

Nor could the majeſty of the Engliſh crown appear, upon any occaſion, in greater luſtre, either to foreigners or ſubjects, than by an adminiſtration, which, producing ſuch great effects, would diſcover ſo much power. And power being the natural appetite of princes, a limited monarch cannot ſo well gratify it in any thing, as a ſtrict execution of the laws.

Beſides, all parties would be obliged to cloſe with ſo good a work as this, for their own reputation. Neither is any expedient more likely to unite them. For the moſt violent partymen I have

have ever obſerved, are ſuch as, in the conduct of their lives, have diſcovered leaſt ſenſe of religion and morality; and when all ſuch are laid aſide, at leaſt thoſe among them who ſhall be found incorrigible, it will be a matter perhaps of no great difficulty to reconcile the reſt.

The many corruptions at preſent in every branch of buſineſs, are almoſt inconceivable. I have heard it computed by ſkilful perſons, that of ſix millions raiſed every year for the ſervice of the public, one third, at leaſt, is ſunk and intercepted through the ſeveral claſſes and ſubordinations of artful men in office, before the remainder is applied to the proper uſe. This is an accidental ill effect of our freedom. And while ſuch men are in truſt, who have no check from within, nor any views but towards their intereſt, there is no other fence againſt them, but the certainty of being hanged upon the firſt diſcovery, by the arbitrary will of an unlimited monarch, or his *vizier*. Among us, the only danger to be apprehended, is the loſs of an employment; and that danger is to be eluded a thouſand ways. Beſides, when fraud is great, it furniſhes weapons to defend itſelf: and, at worſt, if the crimes be ſo flagrant, that a man is laid aſide out of perfect ſhame, (which rarely happens,) he retires loaded with the ſpoils of the nation; *et fruitur diis iratis*. I could name a commiſſion, where ſeveral perſons, out of a ſalary of five hundred pounds, without other viſible revenues, have always lived at the

rate

rate of two thouſand, and laid out forty or fifty thouſand upon purchaſes of land or annuities. An hundred other inſtances of the ſame kind might eaſily be produced. What remedy therefore can be found againſt ſuch grievances in a conſtitution like ours, but to bring religion into countenance, and encourage thoſe, who, from the hope of future reward, and dread of future puniſhment, will be moved to act with juſtice and integrity?

This is not to be accompliſhed any other way, than by introducing religion, as much as poſſible, to be the turn and faſhion of the age; which only lies in the power of the adminiſtration; the prince with utmoſt ſtrictneſs regulating the court, the miniſtry, and other perſons in great employment; and theſe, by their example and authority, reforming all who have dependence on them.

It is certain, that a reformation ſucceſsfully carried on in this great town, would, in time, ſpread itſelf over the whole kingdom; ſince moſt of the conſiderable youth paſs here that ſeaſon of their lives, wherein the ſtrongeſt impreſſions are made, in order to improve their education, or advance their fortune; and thoſe among them who return into their ſeveral countries, are ſure to be followed and imitated, as the greateſt patterns of wit and good-breeding.

And if things were once in this train; that is, if virtue and religion were eſtabliſhed as the neceſſary titles to reputation and preferment, and if vice and infidelity were not only loaden with infamy, but

ade the infallible ruin of all mens preten-
our duty, by becoming our intereſt, would
oot in our natures, and mix with the very
s of our people; ſo that it would not be ea-
the example of one wicked prince to bring
:k to our former corruptions.
ave confined myſelf (as it is before obſerved)
ſe methods for the advancement of piety,
i are in the power of a prince limited like
by a ſtrict execution of the laws already in
And this is enough for a project that comes
ut any name or recommendation; I doubt
it deal more, than will be ſuddenly reduced
ractice. Though, if any diſpoſition ſhould
r towards ſo good a work, it is cer-
that the aſſiſtance of the legiſlative power
l be neceſſary to make it more complete.
inſtance only a few particulars.
order to reform the vices of this town, which,
have ſaid, hath ſo mighty an influence on
hole kingdom, it would be very inſtrumen-
have a law made, that all taverns and ale-
s ſhould be obliged to diſmiſs their compa-
twelve at night, and ſhut up their doors;
:hat no woman ſhould be ſuffered to enter
avern or alehouſe, upon any pretence what-
r. It is eaſy to conceive, what a number of
nſequences ſuch a law would prevent; the
iefs of quarrels, and lewdneſs, and thefts,
midnight-brawls, the diſeaſes of intempe-
: and venery, and a thouſand other evils need-
leſs

leſs to mention. Nor would it be amiſs
maſters of thoſe public houſes were oblige
on the ſevereſt penalties, to give only a
tioned quantity of drink to every compan
when he found his gueſts diſordered with
to refuſe them any more.

I believe there is hardly a nation in C
dom, where all kind of fraud is practiſ
unmeaſurable a degree as with us. The
the tradeſman, the mechanic, have found
ny arts to deceive in their ſeveral calling
they far outgrow the common prudence o
kind, which is in no ſort able to fence
them. Neither could the legiſlature in an
more conſult the public good, than by pr
ſome effectual remedy againſt this evil;
in ſeveral caſes deſerves greater puniſhmer
many crimes that are capital among us
vintner, who, by mixing poiſon with hi
deſtroys more lives than any malignant c
the lawyer, who perſuades you to a pu
which he knows is mortgaged for more t
worth, to the ruin of you and your famil
banker or ſcrivener, who takes all your f
to diſpoſe of, when he has beforehand reſc
break the following day, do ſurely defe
gallows much better than the wretch who
ried there for ſtealing a horſe.

It cannot eaſily be anſwered to God o
why a law is not made for limiting the pr
leaſt ſo far as to prevent the publiſhing c
per

pernicious books, as, under pretence of *free-thinking*, endeavour to overthrow thoſe tenets in religion, which have been held inviolable almoſt in all ages, by every ſect that pretends to be Chriſtian; and cannot therefore, with any colour of reaſon, be called *points in controverſy*, or *matters of ſpeculation*, as ſome would pretend. The doctrine of the *Trinity*, the *divinity of Chriſt*, the *immortality of the ſoul*, and even the truth of all *revelation*, are daily exploded and denied in books openly printed; though it is to be ſuppoſed, neither party * avow ſuch principles, or own the ſupporting of them to be any way neceſſary to their ſervice.

It would be endleſs to ſet down every corruption or defect which requires a remedy from the legiſlative power. Senates are like to have little regard for any propoſals that come from without doors; though, under a due ſenſe of my own inabilities, I am fully convinced, that the unbiaſſed thoughts of an honeſt and wiſe man, employed on the good of his country, may be better digeſted, than the reſults of a multitude, where faction and intereſt too often prevail; as a ſingle guide may direct the way, better than five hundred who *have contrary views*, or *look aſquint*, or *ſhut their eyes*.

I ſhall therefore mention but one more particular, which I think the parliament ought to take under conſideration; whether it be not a ſhame to

* Neither Whig nor Tory. *Hawkeſ.*

to our country, and a ſcandal to Chriſtianity, that in many towns, where there is a prodigious increaſe in the number of houſes and inhabitants, ſo little care ſhall be taken for the building of churches, that five parts in ſix of the people are abſolutely hindered from hearing divine ſervice? particularly here in London, ‡ where a ſingle miniſter, with one or two ſorry curates, hath the care ſometimes of above twenty thouſand ſouls incumbent on him. A neglect of religion, ſo ignominious, in my opinion, that it can hardly be equalled in any civilized age or country.

But, to leave theſe airy imaginations of introducing new laws for the amendment of mankind; what I principally inſiſt on, is a due execution of the old, which lies wholly in the crown, and in the authority derived from thence. I return therefore to my former aſſertion, That if ſtations of power, truſt, profit, and honour, were conſtantly made the rewards of virtue and piety, ſuch an adminiſtration muſt needs have a mighty influence on the faith and morals of the whole kingdom: and men of great abilities would *then* endeavour to excel in the duties of a religious life, in order to qualify themſelves for public ſervice. I may poſſibly be wrong in ſome of the means I preſcribe towards this end; but that is no material objection againſt the deſign itſelf. Let thoſe who

‡ This paragraph is known to have given the firſt hint to certain Biſhops, particularly to Biſhop Atterbury, in the Earl of Oxford's miniſtry, to procure a fund for building fifty new churches in London.

who are at the helm, contrive it better, which perhaps they may eaſily do. Every body will agree, that the diſeaſe is manifeſt, as well as dangerous; that ſome remedy is neceſſary, and that none, yet applied, hath been effectual; which is a ſufficient excuſe for any man, who wiſhes well to his country, to offer his thoughts, when he can have no other end in view but the public good. The preſent Queen is a princeſs of as many and great virtues as ever filled a throne: how would it brighten her character to the preſent and after ages, if ſhe would exert her utmoſt authority to inſtil ſome ſhare of thoſe virtues into her people, which they are too degenerate to learn only from her example? and, be it ſpoke with all the veneration poſſible for ſo excellent a ſovereign, her beſt endeavours in this weighty affair are a moſt important part of her duty, as well as of her intereſt, and her honour.

But it muſt be confeſſed, that, as things are now, every man thinks he has laid in a ſufficient ſtock of merit, and may pretend to any employment, provided he hath been loud and frequent in declaring himſelf hearty for the government. It is true, he is a *man of pleaſure*, a *free-thinker*; that is, in other words, he is profligate in his morals, and a deſpiſer of religion; but, in point of party, he is one to be *confided* in; he is an aſſerter of liberty and property; he rattles it out againſt *Popery* and *arbitrary power*, and *prieſtcraft* and *high-church*. It is enough: he is a perſon fully

qualified for any employment in the court or the navy, the law or the revenue; where he will be ſure to leave no arts untried of bribery, fraud, injuſtice, or oppreſſion, that he can practiſe with any hope of impunity. No wonder ſuch men are true to a government, where liberty runs high, where property, *however attained*, is ſo well ſecured, and where the adminiſtration is at leaſt ſo gentle: it is impoſſible they could chuſe any other conſtitution, without changing to their loſs.

Fidelity to a preſent eſtabliſhment, is indeed the principal means to defend it from a foreign enemy; but, without other qualifications, will not prevent corruptions from within; and ſtates are more often ruined by theſe, than the other.

To conclude: Whether the propoſals I have offered towards a reformation, be ſuch as are moſt prudent and convenient, may probably be a queſtion: but it is none at all, whether ſome reformation be abſolutely neceſſary: becauſe the nature of things is ſuch, that if abuſes be not remedied, they will certainly increaſe, nor ever ſtop till they end in a ſubverſion of a commonwealth. As there muſt always, of neceſſity, be ſome corruptions, ſo, in a well-inſtituted ſtate, the executive power will be always contending againſt them, by *reducing things* (as Machiavel ſpeaks) *to their firſt principles*, never letting abuſes grow inveterate, or multiply ſo far, that it will be hard to find remedies, and perhaps impoſſible to apply them. As he that would keep his houſe in repair,

pair, muſt attend every little breach or flaw, and ſupply it immediately, elſe time alone will bring all to ruin; how much more the common accidents of ſtorms and rain? He muſt live in perpetual danger of his houſe falling about his ears; and will find it cheaper to throw it quite down, and build it again from the ground, perhaps upon a new foundation, or, at leaſt, in a new form, which may neither be ſo ſafe, nor ſo convenient as the old.

THE SENTIMENTS OF A CHURCH-OF-ENGLAND MAN,

With reſpect to RELIGION and GOVERNMENT.*

Written in the year 1708.

WHOEVER hath examined the conduct and proceedings of both *parties* for ſome years paſt, whether in or out of power, cannot well conceive it poſſible to go far towards the extremes of either, without offering ſome violence to his integrity or underſtanding. A wiſe and a good man may indeed be ſometimes induced to comply with a number, whoſe opinion he generally

* This piece is adapted to that particular period in which it was written. The ſtyle of the whole pamphlet is nervous, and, except in ſome few places, impartial. The ſtate of Holland is juſtly, and, at the ſame time, conciſely delineated. This tract is very well worth one's reading and attention: and it confirms an obſervation which will perpetually occur, that Swift excels in whatever ſtyle or manner he aſſumes. When he is in earneſt, his ſtrength of reaſon carries with it conviction; when in jeſt, every competitor in the race of wit is left behind him. *Orrery.*

This piece ſeemeth to have been one of Swift's projects for uniting of parties, and written with a deſign to check that rage and

rally approves, thou
own. But this liber
on very few occasion
ance, and then only
his own side another
and more public m
innocency of a frien
or our own conscienc
or interest of a party
our heads or our he
be. Yet this very practice is the very fundamental law of each faction among us; as may be obvious to any, who will impartially, and without engagement, be at the pains to examine their actions: which, however, is not so easy a task; for it seems a principle in human nature, to in-

and violence, which subsisted in those times between the contending factions of *Whig* and *Tory;* and perhaps to recommend, in the place of that abominable rancour and malice, which had broken all the laws of charity and hospitality among human kind, those candid salutary principles, with respect to religion and government, which, if rightly comprehended, and vigorously pursued, might certainly preserve the whole constitution, both of *church* and *state*, for ten thousand generations. *Swift.*

This appears to be an apology for the Tories, and a justification of them against the misrepresentations of the Whigs, who were then in the ministry, and used every artifice to perpetuate their power. Mr. Harley, afterwards Lord Oxford, had, by the influence of the Duke of Marlborough, and Lord Treasurer Godolphin, been lately removed from his post of Principal Secretary of State; and Mr. St. John, afterwards Lord Bolingbroke, resigned his place of Secretary at War, and Sir Simon Harcourt that of Attorney-General. *Hawkes.*

more than another, even in matters we are wholly unconcerned. And it is common observation, that in reading a hiſtory of facts done a thouſand years ago, or ſtanding by at play among thoſe who are perfect ſtrangers to us, we are apt to find our hopes and wiſhes engaged on a ſudden in favour of one ſide more than another. No wonder then that we are all ſo ready to intereſt ourſelves in the courſe of public affairs, where the moſt inconſiderable have ſome *real* ſhare, and, by the wonderful importance which every man is of to himſelf, a very great *imaginary* one.

And, indeed, when the two parties that divide the whole commonwealth, come once to a rupture, without any hopes left of forming a third with better principles, to balance the others, it ſeems every man's duty to chuſe one of the two ſides, though he cannot entirely approve of either; and all pretences to neutrality are juſtly exploded by both, being too ſtale and obvious; only intending the ſafety and eaſe of a few individuals, while the public is embroiled. This was the opinion and practice of the latter Cato, whom I eſteem to have been the wiſeſt and beſt of all the Romans. * But before things proceed to open violence, the trueſt ſervice a private man may hope to do his country, is by unbiaſſing his mind as much as poſſible, and then endeavouring

* One of the ſextumvirate in Gulliver, part 3. chap. 7

ing to moderate between the rival powers; which muſt needs be owned a fair proceeding with the world; becauſe it is, of all others, the leaſt conſiſtent with the common deſign of making a fortune by the *merit* of an *opinion*.

I have gone as far as I am able, in qualifying myſelf to be ſuch a moderator. I believe I am no *bigot* in religion, and I am ſure I am none in government. I converſe in full freedom with many conſiderable men of both parties; and if not in equal number, it is purely accidental and perſonal, as happening to be near the court, and to have made acquaintance there, more under one miniſtry than another. Then I am not under the neceſſity of declaring myſelf by the proſpect of an employment. And, laſtly, if all this be not ſufficient, I induſtriouſly conceal my name, which wholly exempts me from any hopes and fears in delivering my opinion.

In conſequence of this free uſe of my reaſon, I cannot poſſibly think ſo well or ſo ill of either party, as they would endeavour to perſuade the world of each other, and of themſelves. For inſtance, I do not charge it upon the body of the *Whigs* or the *Tories*, that their ſeveral principles lead them to introduce Preſbytery, and the religion of the church of Rome, or a commonwealth, and arbitrary power. For why ſhould any party be accuſed of a principle, which they ſolemnly diſown and proteſt againſt? But, to this, they have a mutual anſwer ready: they both aſſure us, that

that their adverſaries are not to be believed; that they diſown their principles out of fear, which are manifeſt enough, when we examine their practices. To prove this, they will produce inſtances, on one ſide, either of avowed Preſbyterians, or perſons of libertine and atheiſtical tenets; and on the other, of profeſſed Papiſts, or ſuch as are openly in the intereſt of the abdicated family. Now, it is very natural for all ſubordinate ſects and denominations in a ſtate, to ſide with ſome general party, and to chuſe that which they find to agree with themſelves in ſome general principle. Thus, at the *reſtoration*, the Preſbyterians, Anabaptiſts, Independents, and other ſects, did all, with very good reaſon, unite and ſolder up their ſeveral ſchemes to join againſt the *church*; who, without regard to their diſtinctions, treated them all as equal adverſaries. Thus our preſent diſſenters do very naturally cloſe in with the Whigs, who profeſs *moderation*; declare they abhor all thoughts of *perſecution*, and think it hard, that thoſe who differ only in a few *ceremonies* and *ſpeculations*, ſhould be denied the privilege and profit of ſerving their country in the higheſt employments of ſtate. Thus, the atheiſts, libertines, deſpiſers of religion and revelation in general; that is to ſay, all thoſe who uſually paſs under the name of *Free-thinkers*, do properly join with the ſame body; becauſe *they* likewiſe preach up *moderation*, and are not ſo over-nice to diſtinguiſh between an unlimited liberty of conſcience,

ence, and an unlimited freedom of opinion. Then, on the other ſide, the profeſſed firmneſs of the Tories for Epiſcopacy, as an apoſtolical inſtitution; their averſion to thoſe ſects who ly under the reproach of having once deſtroyed their conſtitution, and who, they imagine, by too indiſcreet a zeal for reformation, have defaced the primitive model of the church; next, their moderation for monarchical government in the common courſe of ſucceſſion, and their hatred to republican ſchemes: theſe, I ſay, are principles which not only the nonjuring zealots profeſs, but even papiſts themſelves fall readily in with. And every extreme here mentioned, flings a general ſcandal upon the whole body it pretends to adhere to.

But ſurely no man whatſoever ought, in juſtice or good manners, to be charged with principles he actually diſowns, unleſs his practices do openly, and without the leaſt room for doubt, contradict his profeſſion; not upon ſmall ſurmiſes, or becauſe he has the misfortune to have ill men ſometimes agree with him in a few general ſentiments. However, though the extremes of *Whig* and *Tory* ſeem, with little juſtice, to have drawn religion into their controverſies, wherein they have ſmall concern; yet they both have borrowed one leading principle from the abuſe of it; which is, to have built their ſeveral ſyſtems of political faith, not upon enquiries after truth, but upon oppoſition to each other; upon injuri-

ous

ous appellations, charging their adverſaries with horrid opinions, and then reproaching them for the want of charity; *et neuter falſo.*

In order to remove theſe prejudices, I have thought nothing could be more effectual, than to deſcribe the ſentiments of a *church-of-England man*, with reſpect to *religion* and *government*. This I ſhall endeavour to do, in ſuch a *manner*, as may not be liable to the leaſt objection from either party, and which, I am confident, would be aſſented to by great numbers in both, if they were not miſled to thoſe mutual miſrepreſentations, by ſuch motives as they would be aſhamed to own.

I ſhall begin with *religion*.

And here, though it makes an odd ſound, yet it is neceſſary to ſay, that whoever profeſſeth himſelf a member of the church of England, ought to believe a God, and his Providence, together with revealed religion, and the divinity of *Chriſt*. For beſides thoſe many thouſands, who (to ſpeak in the phraſe of divines) do practically deny all this by the immorality of their lives, there is no ſmall number, who, in their converſation and writings, directly, or by conſequence, endeavour to overthrow it: yet all theſe place themſelves in the liſt of the national church, though, at the ſame time (as it is highly reaſonable) they are great ſticklers for liberty of conſcience.

To enter upon particulars: A *church-of-England man* has a true veneration for the ſcheme eſtabliſhed

hed among us of eccleſiaſtic government; hough he will not determine, whether Epiſ- y be of divine right, he is ſure it is moſt a- ble to primitive inſtitution; fitteſt of all o- for preſerving order and purity, and, un- s preſent regulations, beſt calculated for our ate: he ſhould therefore think the aboliſh- of that order among us, would prove a y ſcandal and corruption to our faith, and eſtly dangerous to our monarchy; nay, he l defend it by arms againſt all the powers rth, except our own legiſlature; in which e would ſubmit as to a general calamity, a h or a peſtilence.

to rites and ceremonies, and forms of prayer, ows there might be ſome uſeful alterations; ore, which in the proſpect of uniting Chri- might be very ſupportable, as things de- l in their own nature indifferent; to which uld therefore readily comply, if the *clergy*, hough this be not ſo fair a method) if the *ture* ſhould direct: yet, at the ſame time, he t altogether blame the former for their un- gneſs to conſent to any alteration; which, the trouble, and perhaps diſgrace, would nly never produce the good effects intend- it. The only condition that could make it nt and juſt for the clergy to comply in al- the ceremonial, or any other indifferent would be a firm reſolution in the legiſlature erpoſe, by ſome ſtrict and effectual laws, to prevent

prevent the riſing and ſpreading of new ſects, how plauſible ſoever, for the future; elſe there muſt never be an end; and it would be to act like a man who ſhould pull down and change the ornaments of his houſe, in compliance with every one who was diſpoſed to find fault as he paſſed by; which, beſides the perpetual trouble and expence, would very much damage, and perhaps, in time, deſtroy the building. Sects in a ſtate ſeem only tolerated with any reaſon, becauſe they are already ſpread; and becauſe it would not be agreeable with ſo mild a government, or ſo pure a religion as ours, to uſe violent methods againſt great numbers of *miſtaken* people, while they do not manifeſtly endanger the conſtitution of either. But the greateſt advocates for general liberty of conſcience, will allow, that they ought to be checked in their beginnings, if they will allow them to be an evil at all, or, which is the ſame thing, if they will only grant it were better for the peace of the ſtate, that there ſhould be none. But while the clergy conſider the natural temper of mankind in general, or of our own country in particular, what aſſurances can they have, that any compliances they ſhall make, will remove the evil of diſſention, while the liberty ſtill continues of profeſſing whatever new opinions we pleaſe? Or how can it be imagined, that the body of diſſenting teachers, who muſt be all undone by ſuch a revolution, will not caſt about for ſome new objections

tions to withhold their flocks, and draw in freſh proſelytes by ſome further innovations or refinements?

Upon theſe reaſons, he is for tolerating ſuch different forms in religious worſhip, as are already admitted; but by no means for leaving it in the power of thoſe who are tolerated, to advance their own models upon the ruin of what is already eſtabliſhed; which it is natural for all ſects to deſire, and which they cannot be juſtified by any conſiſtent principles, if they do not endeavour; and yet, which they cannot ſucceed in, without the utmoſt danger to the public peace.

To prevent theſe inconveniencies, he thinks it highly juſt, that all rewards of truſt, profit, or dignity, which the ſtate leaves in the diſpoſal of the adminiſtration, ſhould be given only to thoſe whoſe principles direct them to preſerve the conſtitution in all its parts. In the late affair of *occaſional conformity*, the general argument of thoſe who were againſt it, was not, to deny it an evil in itſelf, but that the remedy propoſed, was violent, untimely, and improper; which is the Biſhop of Saliſbury's * opinion, in the ſpeech he made and publiſhed againſt the bill. But, however juſt their fears or complaints might have been upon that ſcore, he thinks it a little too groſs and precipitate, to employ their writers already in arguments for repealing the ſacramental teſt, upon no wiſer a maxim, than that no man

* Dr. Burnet.

ſhould, on the account of conſcience, be depriv ed the liberty of ſerving his country; a topi which may be equally applied to admit *Papiſt Atheiſts*, *Mahometans*, *Heathens*, and *Jews*. the church wants members of its own to emplo in the ſervice of the public, or be ſo unhappil contrived, as to exclude from its communio ſuch perſons who are likelieſt to have great abil ties, it is time it ſhould be altered, and reduce into ſome more perfect, or at leaſt more popul form: but, in the mean while, it is not altogethe improbable, that when thoſe who diſlike the con ſtitution, are ſo very zealous in their offers fo the ſervice of their country, they are not wholl unmindful of their party, or of themſelves.

The Dutch, whoſe practice is ſo often quote to prove and celebrate the great advantages of general liberty of conſcience, have yet a nation religion profeſſed by all who bear office amon them. But why ſhould they be a precedent fo us, either in religion or government? Our coun try differs from theirs, as well in ſituation, ſoi and productions of nature, as in the genius an complexion of inhabitants. They are a com monwealth founded on a ſudden, by a deſperat attempt, in a deſperate condition; not formed c digeſted into a regular ſyſtem, by mature though and reaſon, but huddled up under the preſſure c ſudden exigencies; calculated for no long dura tion, and hitherto ſubſiſting by accident in th midſt of contending powers, who cannot yet a

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gree about sharing it amongst them. These difficulties do indeed preserve them from any great corruptions, which their crazy constitution would extremely subject them to in a long peace. That confluence of people in a persecuting age to a place of refuge neareſt at hand, put them upon the neceſſity of trade, to which they wiſely gave all eaſe and encouragement. And if we could think fit to imitate them in this laſt particular, there would need no more to invite foreigners among us; who ſeem to think no farther than how to ſecure their property and conſcience, without projecting any ſhare in that government which gives them protection, or calling it *perſecution*, if it be denied them. But I ſpeak it for the honour of our adminiſtration, that although our ſects are not ſo numerous as thoſe in Holland, which I preſume is not our *fault*, and I hope is not our *misfortune*, we much excel them, and all *Chriſtendom* beſides, in our indulgence to tender conſciences. * One ſingle compliance with the national form of receiving the ſacrament, is all we require to qualify any ſectary among us for the greateſt employments in the ſtate; after which, he is at liberty to rejoin his own aſſemblies for the reſt of his life. Beſides, I will ſuppoſe any of the numerous ſects in Holland to have ſo far prevailed, as to have raiſed a civil war, deſtroyed their government and reli-

 gion,

* When this was written, there was no law againſt occaſional conformity.

gion, and put their *adminiſtrators* to death; after which, I will ſuppoſe the people to have recovered all again, and to have ſettled on their old foundation. Then I would put a query, whether that ſect, which was the unhappy inſtrument of all this confuſion, could reaſonably expect to be intruſted for the future with the greateſt employments, or indeed to be hardly tolerated among them?

To go on with the ſentiments of a *church-of-England man:* He does not ſee how that mighty paſſion for the church, which ſome men pretend, can well conſiſt with thoſe indignities and that contempt they beſtow on the perſons of the clergy. It is a ſtrange mark whereby to diſtinguiſh *high-churchmen*, that they are ſuch who imagine the clergy can never be too *low*. He thinks the maxim theſe gentlemen are ſo fond of, that they are for an humble clergy, is a very good one: and ſo is he, and for an humble laity too; ſince humility is a virtue that perhaps equally befits and adorns every ſtation of life.

But then, if the ſcribblers on the other ſide, freely ſpeak the ſentiments of their party, a divine of the church of England cannot look for much better quarter from thence. You ſhall obſerve nothing more frequent in their weekly papers, than a way of affecting to confound the terms of *clergy* and *high-church*, of applying both indifferently, and then loading the latter with all the calumny they can invent. They will tell you, they honour a clergyman; but talk, at the ſame

ſame time, as if there were not three in the kingdom who could fall in with their definition. After the like manner, they inſult the *univerſities*, as poiſoned fountains, and corrupters of youth.

Now, it ſeems clear to me, that the *Whigs* might eaſily have procured and maintained a majority among the clergy, and perhaps in the univerſities, if they had not too much encouraged or connived at this intemperance of ſpeech and virulence of pen, in the worſt and moſt proſtitute of their party: among whom there hath been, for ſome years paſt, ſuch a perpetual clamour againſt the ambition, the implacable temper, and the covetouſneſs of the *prieſthood*; ſuch a cant of *high-church*, and perſecution, and being *prieſt-ridden*; ſo many reproaches about *narrow principles*, or *terms of communion*; then ſuch ſcandalous reflections on the *univerſities*, for infecting the youth of the nation with arbitrary and *Jacobite* principles, that it was natural for thoſe who had the care of religion and education, to apprehend ſome general deſign of altering the conſtitution of both. And all this was the more extraordinary, becauſe it could not eaſily be forgot, that whatever oppoſition was made to the uſurpations of *King James*, proceeded altogether from the church of England, and chiefly from the *clergy*, and one of the *univerſities*. For if it were of any uſe to recal matters of fact, what is more notorious than that prince's applying himſelf firſt to

the church of England; and, upon their refusal to fall in with his measures, making the like advances to the *dissenters* of all kinds? who readily, and almost universally complied with him, affecting, in their numerous addresses and pamphlets, the style of *our brethren the Roman Catholics*; whose interests they put on the same foot with their own: and some of Cromwell's officers took posts in the army raised against the Prince of Orange. These proceedings of theirs they can only extenuate by urging the provocations they had met from the church in King Charles's reign; which, though perhaps excusable upon the score of human infirmity, are not by any means a plea of merit equal to the constancy and sufferings of the bishops and clergy, or of the head and fellows of Magdalen-college, that furnished the Prince of Orange's declaration with such powerful arguments to justify and promote the *revolution*.

Therefore, a *church-of-England man* abhors the humour of the age, in delighting to fling scandals upon the clergy in general; which, besides the disgrace to the *reformation*, and to religion itself, cast an ignominy upon the kingdom, that it doth not deserve. We have no better materials to compound the priesthood of, than the mass of mankind, which, corrupted as it is, those who receive orders must have some vices to leave behind them when they enter into the church; and if a few do still adhere, it is no wonder, but rather

ther a great one, that they are no worſe. Therefore, he cannot think *ambition*, or *love of power*, more juſtly laid to their charge, than to other men; becauſe that would be to make religion itſelf, or at leaſt the beſt conſtitution of *church-government*, anſwerable for the errors and depravity of human nature.

Within theſe laſt two hundred years, all ſorts of temporal power have been wreſted from the clergy, and much of their eccleſiaſtic; the reaſon or juſtice of which proceeding, I ſhall not examine: but, that the remedies were a little too violent, with reſpect to their *poſſeſſions*, the legiſlature hath lately confeſſed, by the remiſſion of their *firſt-fruits*. Neither do the common libellers deny this; who, in their invectives, only tax the church with an inſatiable deſire of power and wealth, (equally common to all bodies of men, as well as individuals,) but thank God, that the laws have deprived them of both. However, it is worth obſerving the juſtice of parties. The ſects among us are apt to complain, and think it hard uſage, to be reproached now, after fifty years, for overturning the ſtate, for the murder of a King, and the indignity of an uſurpation; yet theſe very men, and their partiſans, are continually reproaching the clergy, and laying to their charge, the pride, the avarice, the luxury, the ignorance, and ſuperſtition of *Popiſh* times, for a thouſand years paſt.

He thinks it a ſcandal to government, that ſuch an unlimited liberty ſhould be allowed, of publiſhing

publishing books against those doctrines in religion, wherein all Christians have agreed; much more to connive at such tracts as reject all revelation, and, by their consequences, often deny the very being of a God. Surely, it is not a sufficient atonement for the writers, that they profess much loyalty to the present government, and sprinkle up and down some arguments in favour of the *dissenters*; that they dispute as strenuously as they can, for liberty of conscience, and inveigh largely against all ecclesiastics, under the name of *high-church*: and, in short, under the shelter of some popular principles in politics and religion, undermine the foundations of all piety and virtue.

As he doth not reckon every *schism* of that damnable nature which some would represent, so, he is very far from closing with the new opinion of those who would make it no crime at all; and argue at a wild rate, that God Almighty is delighted with the variety of faith and worship, as he is with the varieties of nature. To such absurdities are men carried by the affectation of *free-thinking*, and *removing the prejudices of education*; under which head, they have, for some time, begun to list *morality* and *religion*. It is certain, that, before the rebellion in 1642, though the number of *Puritans* (as they were then called) was as great as it is with us, and though they affected to follow pastors of that denomination; yet, those pastors had episcopal ordination, pos-

sessed

ſeſſed preferments in the church, and were ſometimes promoted to biſhoprics themſelves. But, a breach in the general form of worſhip was, in thoſe days, reckoned ſo dangerous and ſinful in itſelf, and ſo offenſive to *Roman Catholics* at home and abroad, that it was too unpopular to be attempted: neither, I believe, was the expedient then found out, of maintaining ſeparate paſtors out of private purſes.

When a *ſchiſm* is once ſpread in a nation, there grows at length a diſpute, which are the ſchiſmatics. Without entering on the arguments uſed by both ſides among us, to fix the guilt on each other, it is certain, that, in the ſenſe of the law, the *ſchiſm* lies on that ſide which oppoſeth itſelf to the religion of the ſtate. I leave it among the *divines* to dilate upon the danger of *ſchiſm* as a ſpiritual evil; but I would conſider it only as a temporal one. And I think it clear, that any great ſeparation from the eſtabliſhed worſhip, though to a new one that is more pure and perfect, may be an occaſion of endangering the public peace; becauſe it will compoſe a body always in reſerve, prepared to follow any diſcontented heads, upon the plauſible pretexts of advancing *true religion*, and oppoſing error, ſuperſtition, or idolatry. For this reaſon, Plato lays it down as a maxim, That *men ought to worſhip the gods according to the laws of the country*; and he introduces Socrates, in his laſt diſcourſe, utterly diſowning the crime laid to his charge, of *teaching new divinities*, or methods of

of worſhip.—Thus, the poor *Hugonots* of France were engaged in a civil war, by the ſpecious pretences of ſome, who, under the guiſe of religion, ſacrificed ſo many thouſand lives to their own ambition and revenge. Thus was the whole body of *Puritans* in England drawn to be inſtruments or abettors of all manner of villany, by the artifices of a *few men*, whoſe deſigns, from the firſt, were levelled to deſtroy the conſtitution both of religion and government*. And thus, even in Holland itſelf, where it is pretended, that the variety of ſects live ſo amicably together, and in ſuch perfect obedience to the magiſtrate, it is notorious, how a turbulent party, joining with the *Arminians*, did, in the memory of our fathers, attempt to deſtroy the liberty of that republic. So that, upon the whole, where ſects are tolerated in a ſtate, it is fit they ſhould enjoy a full liberty of conſcience, and every other privilege of freeborn ſubjects, *to which no power is annexed.* And, to preſerve their obedience, upon all emergencies, a government cannot give them too much eaſe, nor truſt them with too little *power*.

The *clergy* are uſually charged with a *perſecuting ſpirit*, which they are ſaid to diſcover, by an implacable hatred to all *diſſenters*: and this appears to be more unreaſonable, becauſe they ſuffer leſs in their intereſts by a *toleration*, than any of the *conforming laity*; for, while the *church* remains in its preſent form, no diſſenter can poſſibly

* Lord Clarendon's hiſtory.

bly have any ſhare in its dignities, revenues, or power; whereas, by once receiving the ſacrament, he is rendered capable of the higheſt employments in the ſtate. And it is very poſſible, that a narrow education, together with a mixture of human infirmity, may help to beget among ſome of the *clergy in poſſeſſion*, ſuch an averſion and contempt for all *innovators*, as *phyſicians* are apt to have for *empirics*; or *lawyers* for *pettifogers*, or *merchants* for *pedlars*: But, ſince the number of ſectaries doth not concern the clergy, either in point of intereſt or conſcience, (it being an evil not in their power to remedy,) it is more fair and reaſonable to ſuppoſe, their diſlike proceeds from the dangers they apprehend to the peace of the commonwealth, in the ruin whereof, they muſt expect to be the firſt and greateſt ſufferers.

To conclude this *ſection*, it muſt be obſerved, that there is a very good word, which hath, of late, ſuffered much by both parties; I mean *moderation*; which the one ſide very juſtly diſowns, and the other as unjuſtly pretends to. Beſide what paſſes every day in converſation, any man who reads the papers publiſhed by Mr. Leſley, and others of his ſtamp, muſt needs conclude, that, if this author could make the nation ſee his adverſaries under the colours he paints them in, we have nothing elſe to do, but riſe as one man, and deſtroy ſuch wretches from the face of the earth. On the other ſide, how ſhall we excuſe the

the advocates for *moderation?* among whom could appeal to a hundred papers, of unive approbation, by the cauſe they were writ which lay ſuch principles to the whole body the *Tories*, as if they were true; and belie our next buſineſs ſhould, in prudence, be, t rect gibbets in every pariſh, and hang them of the way. But, I ſuppoſe it is preſumed, common people underſtand *raillery*, or at l *rhetoric*; and will not take *hyperboles* in too lit a ſenſe; which, however, in ſome junctu might prove a deſperate experiment. And is *moderation*, in the *modern* ſenſe of the word; which, ſpeaking impartially, the bigots of b parties are *equally* intitled.

SECT. II.

The ſentiments of a church-of-England man, *r eſpect to government.*

WE look upon it as a very juſt repro though we cannot agree where to fi that there ſhould be ſo much violence and hat in religious matters, among men who agre all fundamentals, and only differ in ſome c monies, or, at moſt, mere ſpeculative poi Yet, is not this frequently the caſe between tending parties in a ſtate? For inſtance, do the generality of *Whigs* and *Tories* among us, feſs to agree in the ſame *fundamentals*, their lo

ty to the Queen, their abjuration of the *pretender*, the ſettlement of the crown in the Proteſtant line, and a revolution-principle? their affection to the church eſtabliſhed, with toleration of diſſenters? Nay, ſometimes they go farther, and paſs over into each other's principles; the *Whigs* become great aſſerters of the prerogative, and the *Tories*, of the people's liberty; theſe crying down almoſt the whole ſet of biſhops, and thoſe defending them: ſo that the differences, fairly ſtated, would be much of a ſort with thoſe in religion among us, and amount to little more than, *who ſhould take place*, or *go in and out firſt*, or *kiſs the Queen's hand*; and what are theſe but a few *court-ceremonies?* or, *who ſhould be in the miniſtry*; and what is that to the body of the nation, but a mere *ſpeculative point?* Yet, I think it muſt be allowed, that no religious ſects ever carried their mutual averſions to greater heights than our ſtate-parties have done, who, the more to inflame their paſſions, have mixed religious and civil animoſities together; borrowing one of their appellations from the church, with the addition of *high* and *low*, how little ſoever their diſputes relate to the term, as it is generally underſtood.

I now proceed to deliver the ſentiments of a *church-of-England man*, with reſpect to government.

He doth not think the church of England ſo narrowly calculated, that it cannot fall in with any regular ſpecies of government; nor doth he

think any one regular ſpecies of government more acceptable to God than another. The three generally received in the *ſchools*, have, all of them, their ſeveral perfections, and are ſubject to their ſeveral depravations. However, few ſtates are ruined by any defect in their inſtitution, but generally by the corruption of manners, againſt which, the beſt inſtitution is no longer a ſecurity, and without which, a very ill one may ſubſiſt and flouriſh; whereof there are two pregnant inſtances now in Europe. The firſt is, the *ariſtocracy* of Venice; which, founded upon the wiſeſt maxims, and digeſted by a great length of time, hath, in our age, admitted ſo many abuſes, through the degeneracy of the nobles, that the period of its duration ſeems to approach. The other is the united republics of the *States-General*, where, a vein of temperance, induſtry, parſimony, and a public ſpirit, running through the whole body of the people, hath preſerved an infant commonwealth, of an untimely birth, and ſickly conſtitution, for above an hundred years, through ſo many dangers and difficulties, as a much more healthy one could never have ſtruggled againſt, without thoſe advantages.

Where ſecurity of perſon and property are preſerved by laws, which none but the *whole* can repeal; there, the great ends of government are provided for, whether the adminiſtration be in the hands of *one*, or of *many*. Where any one *perſon* or *body* of men, who do not repreſent the *whole* ſeize

ıto their hands the power, in the laſt re-
here is properly no longer a government,
ıat Ariſtotle and his followers call the *ábuſe*
rruption of one. This diſtinction excludes
ry power, in whatever numbers; which,
hſtanding all that Hobbes, Filmer, and o-
have ſaid to its advantage, I look upon as
:er evil than *anarchy* itſelf; as much as a
is in a happier ſtate of life, than a *ſlave* at
r.

reckoned ill manners, as well as unreaſon-
for men to quarrel upon difference in opi-
becauſe that is uſually ſuppoſed to be a
which no man can help in himſelf. But
do not conceive to be an univerſal infallible
ı, except in thoſe caſes where the queſtion
ty equally diſputed among the learned and
ſe. Where it is otherwiſe, a man of tole-
eaſon, ſome experience, and willing to be
ted, may apprehend he has got into a
opinion, though the whole courſe of his
ınd inclination would perſuade him to be-
t true: he may be convinced that he is in
or, though he does not ſee where it lies,
bad effects of it in the common conduct
life, and by obſerving thoſe perſons, for
wiſdom and goodneſs he hath the greateſt
nce, to be of a contrary ſentiment. Ac-
g to Hobbes's compariſon of *reaſoning* with
up accompts, whoever finds a miſtake in the
tal, muſt allow himſelf out, though, after

repeated trials, he may not ſee in which article he has miſreckoned. I will inſtance in one opinion, which I look upon every man obliged in conſcience to quit, or in prudence to conceal; I mean, that whoever argues in defence of abſolute power in a ſingle perſon, though he offers the old plauſible plea, that *it his opinion, which he cannot help, unleſs he be convinced*, ought, in all free ſtates, to be treated as the common enemy of mankind. Yet this is laid as a heavy charge upon the clergy of the two reigns before the *revolution*, who, under the terms of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, are ſaid to have preached up the unlimited power of the prince, becauſe they found it a doctrine that pleaſed the court, and made way for their preferment. And, I believe, there may be truth enough in this accuſation, to convince us, that human frailty will too often interpoſe itſelf among perſons of the holieſt function. However, it may be offered in excuſe for the clergy, that, in the beſt ſocieties, there are ſome ill members, which a corrupted court and miniſtry will induſtriouſly find out and introduce. Beſides, it is manifeſt, that the greater number of thoſe who held and preached this doctrine, were miſguided by equivocal terms, and by perfect ignorance in the principles of government, which they had not made any part of their ſtudy. The queſtion originally put, and as I remember to have heard it diſputed in public ſchools, was this, *Whether, under any pretence whatſoever, it may*

ay be lawful to reſiſt the ſupreme magiſtrate? hich was held in the negative; and this is cer-inly the right opinion. But many of the cler-, and other learned men, deceived by a dubi-s expreſſion, miſtook the *object* to which *paſſive dience* was due. By the *ſupreme magiſtrate*, is operly underſtood the *legiſlative* power, which, all governments, muſt be abſolute and unli-ited. But the word *magiſtrate* ſeeming to de-te a *ſingle perſon*, and to expreſs the *executive* wer, it came to paſs, that the obedience due the *legiſlature*, was, for want of knowing or nſidering this eaſy diſtinction, miſapplied to e *adminiſtration*. Neither is it any wonder, that e clergy, or other well-meaning people, ſhould ll into this error, which deceived *Hobbes* him-lf ſo far, as to be the foundation of all the po-ical miſtakes in his books; where he perpetual-confounds the *executive* with the *legiſlative* wer; though all well inſtituted ſtates have ever aced them in different hands; as may be obvi-is to thoſe who know any thing of Athens, parta, Thebes, and other republics of Greece, well as the greater ones of Carthage and Rome.

Beſides, it is to be conſidered, that, when theſe octrines began to be preached among us, the ingdom had not quite worn out the memory of at horrid *rebellion*, under the conſequences of hich it had groaned almoſt twenty years. And *weak prince*, in conjunction with a ſucceſſion of moſt proſtitute miniſters, began again to diſpoſe

the people to new attempts, which it wa doubt, the clergy's duty to endeavour to pre though ſome of them, for want of knowled temporal affairs, and others, perhaps, fr worſe principle, proceeded upon a topic, ſtrictly followed, would enſlave all mankind

Among other theological arguments mad of in thoſe times, in praiſe of monarchy juſtification of abſolute obedience to a pr there ſeemed to be one of a ſingular nature was urged, That *heaven* was governed by *narch*, who had none to control his power was abſolutely obeyed: then it followed, earthly governments were the more perfect nearer they imitated the government in he All which I look upon as the ſtrongeſt argu againſt *deſpotic* power that ever was offered; no reaſon can poſſibly be aſſigned, why it i for the world, that God Almighty hath ſi power, which doth not directly prove, th mortal man ſhould ever have the like.

But though a *church-of-England man* thir very ſpecies of government equally *lawfi* does not think them equally *expedient;* or t very country indifferently. There may be thing in the climate naturally diſpoſing me wards one ſort of obedience; as it is manif over *Aſia*, where we never read of any com wealth, except ſome ſmall ones on the w coaſts, eſtabliſhed by the Greeks. There be a great deal in the ſituation of a country

in the preſent *genius* of the people. It hath been obſerved, that the temperate climates uſually run into moderate governments, and the extremes into deſpotic power. It is a remark of Hobbes, that the youth of England are corrupted in their principles of government, by reading the authors of Greece and Rome, who writ under commonwealths. But it might have been more fairly offered for the honour of liberty, that, while the reſt of the known world was over-run with the arbitrary government of ſingle perſons, arts and *ſciences* took their riſe, and flouriſhed, only in thoſe few ſmall *territories* where the people were *free*. And, though *learning* may continue after *liberty* is loſt, as it did in Rome, for a while, upon the foundations laid under the commonwealth, and the particular patronage of ſome emperors, yet it hardly ever began under a *tyranny* in any nation: becauſe *ſlavery* is, of all things, the greateſt clog and obſtacle to *ſpeculation*. And, indeed, arbitrary power is but the firſt natural ſtep from *anarchy*, or the *ſavage life*; the adjuſting *power* and *freedom*, being an effect and conſequence of maturer thinking: and this is no where ſo duly regulated as in a limited monarchy; becauſe I believe it may paſs for a maxim in ſtate, That *the adminiſtration cannot be placed in too* few *hands*, nor the *legiſlature in too* many. Now, in this material point, the conſtitution of the Engliſh government far exceeds all others at this time on the earth; to which the preſent eſtabliſhment of the

conſent to limitations, he becomes immediately king *de jure*, for the ſame reaſon.

The great advocates for *ſucceſſion*, who affirm it ought not to be violated upon any regard or conſideration whatſoever, do inſiſt much upon one argument, that ſeems to carry little weight. They would have it, that a *crown* is a prince's birthright, and ought, at leaſt, to be as well ſecured to him and his poſterity, as the inheritance of any private man; in ſhort, that he has the ſame title to his kingdom, which every individual has to his property. Now, the conſequence of this doctrine muſt be, that, as a man may find ſeveral ways to waſte, miſpend, or abuſe his patrimony, without being anſwerable to the laws; ſo a king may, in like manner, do what he will with *his own*; that is, he may ſquander and miſapply his revenues, and even alienate the crown, without being called to an account by his ſubjects. They allow ſuch a prince to be guilty, indeed, of much folly and wickedneſs; but for theſe he is *anſwerable to God*, as every private man muſt be, that is guilty of miſmanagement in his own concerns. Now, the folly of this reaſoning will beſt appear, by applying it in a parallel caſe. Should any man argue, that a phyſician is ſuppoſed to underſtand his own art beſt; that the law protects and encourages his profeſſion; and, therefore, although he ſhould manifeſtly preſcribe *poiſon* to all his patients, whereof they ſhould immediately die, he cannot be juſtly puniſhed, but is anſwerable

anſwerable only to God: or ſhould th
offered in behalf of a divine, who wou
againſt religion and moral duties; in
theſe two caſes, every body would fin
ſophiſtry, and preſently anſwer, That
common men are not exactly ſkilled in
poſition or application of medicines, c
ſcribing the limits of duty; yet the diff
tween *poiſons* and *remedies* is eaſily know
effects; and common reaſon ſoon dif
between *virtue* and *vice*: and it muſt be
to forbid both theſe the further practic
profeſſions, becauſe their crimes are
perſonal to the phyſician or the divin
ſtructive to the public. All which is
ſtronger in reſpect to a prince, in who
ill conduct the happineſs or miſery c
nation is included; whereas, it is of fa
quence to the public, farther than exar
any private perſon manageth his proper

But, granting that the right of a lin
ſor to a crown were upon the ſame foo
property of a ſubject; ſtill it may at a
transferred by the legiſlative power, as
perties frequently are. The ſupreme
ſtate can *do no wrong*; becauſe, wha
doth, is the action of all: and, when t
apply this maxim to the *king*, they m
ſtand it only in that ſenſe, as he is adv
of the ſupreme power; otherwiſe it is r
ſally true, but may be controlled in
ſtances, eaſy to produce.

And theſe are the topics we muſt proceed upon, to juſtify our excluſion of the young *pretender* of France; that of his ſuſpected birth being merely popular, and therefore not made uſe of, as I remember, ſince the revolution, in any ſpeech, vote, or proclamation, where there was occaſion to mention him.

As to the *abdication* of King James, which the advocates on that ſide look upon to have been forcible and unjuſt, and conſequently void in itſelf, I think a man may obſerve every article of the Engliſh church, without being in much pain about it. It is not unlikely, that all doors were laid open for his departure, and, perhaps, not without the privity of the prince of Orange; as reaſonably concluding, that the kingdom might better be ſettled in his abſence. But, to affirm he had any cauſe to apprehend the ſame treatment with his *father*, is an improbable ſcandal, flung upon the nation by a few bigotted French ſcribblers, or the invidious aſſertion of a ruined party at home, in the bitterneſs of their ſouls; not one material circumſtance agreeing with thoſe in 1648; and the greateſt part of the nation having preſerved the utmoſt horror for that ignominious *murder*. But whether his removal were cauſed by his own *fears*, or other mens *artifices*, it is manifeſt to me, that, ſuppoſing the throne to be vacant, which was the foot the nation went upon, the body of the people was thereupon left at liberty to chuſe what form of government they pleaſed, by themſelves, or their repreſentatives.

The

The only difficulty of any weight againſt the proceedings at the revolution, is an obvious objection, to which the writers upon that ſubject have not yet given a direct or ſufficient anſwer; as if they were in pain at ſome conſequences, which they apprehend thoſe of the contrary opinion might draw from it. I will repeat this objection, as it was offered me ſome time ago, with all its advantages, by a very pious, learned, and worthy gentleman of the nonjuring party.*

The force of his argument turned upon this, That the laws made by the ſupreme power, cannot, otherwiſe than by the ſupreme power, be annulled: That this conſiſted, in England, of a King, Lords, and Commons, whereof each have a negative voice; no two of them can repeal or enact a law, without conſent of the third; much leſs may any one of them be entirely excluded from its part of the legiſlature, by a *vote* of the other two: That all theſe maxims were openly violated at the revolution; where an aſſembly of the *nobles* and *people*, not ſummoned by the King's writ, (which was an eſſential part of the conſtitution,) and conſequently no lawful meeting, did, merely upon their own authority, declare the King to have abdicated, the throne vacant; and gave the crown by a vote to a *nephew*, when there were three children to inherit; though, by the fundamental laws of the realm, the next heir is

* Mr. Nelſon, author of the feaſts and faſts of the church of England.

is immediately to ſucceed. Neither doth it appear, how a prince's *abdication* can make any other ſort of vacancy in the throne, than would be cauſed by his death; ſince he cannot abdicate for his children, (who claim their right of ſucceſſion by act of parliament,) otherwiſe than by his own conſent, in form, to a bill from the two houſes.

And this is the difficulty that ſeems chiefly to ſtick with the moſt reaſonable of thoſe, who, from a mere ſcruple of conſcience, refuſe to join with us upon the revolution-principle; but the reſt are, I believe, as far from loving arbitrary government as any others can be, who are born under a free conſtitution, and are allowed to have the leaſt ſhare of common good ſenſe.

In this objection, there are two queſtions included. Firſt, Whether, upon the foot of our conſtitution, as it ſtood in the reign of the late King James, a king of England may be depoſed? The ſecond is, Whether the people of England, convened by their own authority, after the king had withdrawn himſelf in the manner he did, had power to alter the ſucceſſion?

As for the firſt, it is a point I ſhall not preſume to determine; and ſhall, therefore, only ſay, that, to any man who holds the negative, I would demand the liberty of putting the caſe as ſtrongly as I pleaſe. I will ſuppoſe a prince limited by laws like ours, yet running into a thouſand caprices of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula; I will ſuppoſe him to murder his mother and his wife;

to commit inceſt, to raviſh matron
the ſenate, and burn his metropol
renounce God and Chriſt, and wor
theſe, and the like exorbitancies, ar
of a ſingle perſon to commit, with
of a miniſtry, or aſſiſtance of an ar
ſuch a king as I have deſcribed, can
ed but by his own conſent in parlia
well ſee how he can be *reſiſted*; or
meant by a *limited* monarchy; or
the people's conſent, in making
laws, if the perſon who adminiſte
but conſcience, and is anſwerable
God. I deſire no ſtronger proof, th
muſt be falſe, than to find very gr
annexed to it; and there cannot b
in the preſent caſe: for it is not a
tion, that kings may run into ſuch
are above mentioned; the practice
ed by examples, not only drawn f
Cæſars, or later Emperors, but r
princes of Europe; ſuch as, Pet
Philip II. of Spain, John Baſilovits
and, in our own nation, king John
and Henry VIII. But there canno
ſurdities ſuppoſed in maintaining th
pinion; becauſe it is certain, that
it in their power to keep a majority
by any tolerable adminiſtration, till
continual oppreſſions: no man, inc
anſwer where the madneſs of the pe

As to the second part of the objection, Whether the people of England, convened by their own authority, upon king James's precipitate departure, had power to alter the succession?

In answer to this, I think it is manifest from the practice of the wisest nations, and who seem to have had the truest notions of freedom, that when a prince was laid aside for male-administration, the *nobles* and *people*, if they thought it necessary for the public weal, did resume the administration of the supreme power, (the power itself having been always in them,) and did not only alter the succession, but often the very form of government too; because they believed there was no natural right in one man to govern another, but that all was by institution, force, or consent. Thus, the cities of Greece, when they drove out their tyrannical kings, either chose others from a new family, or abolished the kingly government, and became free states. Thus the Romans, upon the expulsion of Tarquin, found it inconvenient for them to be subject any longer to the pride, the lust, the cruelty and arbitrary will of single persons; and, therefore, by general consent, entirely altered the whole frame of their government. Nor do I find the proceedings of either, in this point, to have been condemned by any historian of the succeeding ages.

But a great deal hath been already said by other writers upon this invidious and beaten subject; therefore I shall let it fall; though the

point is commonly miſtaken, eſpecially b
lawyers; who, of all others, ſeem leaſt to u
ſtand the nature of government in general;
under-workmen, who are expert enough at
king a ſingle wheel in a clock, but are utterl
norant how to adjuſt the ſeveral parts, or reg
the movements.

To return, therefore, from this digreſſion
is a *church-of-England man*'s opinion, tha
freedom of a nation conſiſts in an abſolute
mited legiſlative power, wherein the whole
of the people are fairly repreſented, and i
executive, duly *limited;* becauſe on this ſide,
wiſe, there may be dangerous degrees, and a
ill extreme. For, when two parties in a ſtat
pretty equal in *power*, *pretenſions*, *merit*, and
tue, (for theſe two laſt are, with relation to
ties and a court, quite different things,) it
been the opinion of the beſt writers upon go
ment, that a prince ought not, in any ſort,
under the guidance or influence of either;
cauſe he declines, by this means, from his
of preſiding over the *whole*, to be the head
party: which, beſides the indignity, render
anſwerable for all public miſmanagements,
the conſequences of them: and, in whatever
this happens, there muſt either be a weakn
the prince or miniſtry, or elſe the former i
much reſtrained by the nobles, or thoſe wh
preſent the people.

To conclude: A *church-of-England man* may, with prudence and a good conſcience, approve the profeſſed principles of one party, more than the other, according as he thinks they beſt promote the good of church and ſtate; but he will never be ſwayed, by paſſion or intereſt, to advance an opinion, merely becauſe it is *that* of the party he moſt approves; which one ſingle principle, he looks upon as the root of all our civil animoſities. To enter into a party, as into an order of *friars*, with ſo reſigned an obedience to ſuperiors, is very unſuitable, both with the civil and religious liberties we ſo zealouſly aſſert. Thus, the underſtandings of a whole ſenate are often enſlaved by three or four leaders on each ſide; who, inſtead of intending the public weal, have their hearts wholly ſet upon ways and means how to get, or to keep employments. But, to ſpeak more at large, how has this ſpirit of faction mingled itſelf with the maſs of the people, changed their nature and manners, and the very genius of the nation? broke all the laws of charity, neighbourhood, alliance, and hoſpitality, deſtroyed all ties of friendſhip, and divided families againſt themſelves? And no wonder it ſhould be ſo, when, in order to find out the character of a perſon, inſtead of enquiring whether he be a man of virtue, honour, piety, wit, good ſenſe, or learning; the modern queſtion is only, Whether he be a *Whig* or a *Tory?* under which terms, all good and ill qualities are included.

Now, becauſe it is a point of
chuſe an exact middle between two
it may be worth enquiring, in the
which of theſe a wiſe and good m
ther ſeem to avoid. Taking, therefo
good and ill characters, with due ab
allowances for partiality and paſſi
think, that, in order to preſerve th
entire in church and ſtate, whoever
value for both, would be ſure to
tremes of *Whig* for the ſake of the
the extremes of *Tory* on account of

I have now ſaid all that I could th
ent upon ſo nice a ſubject, and fin
ambition common with other reaſon
at leaſt that both parties may thin
right; which would be of ſome uſe
have any virtue left, but are blind
the extravagancies of either, upon f
tations, to ſerve the ambition or n
ſigning men, without any proſpect
But if that is not to be hoped for,
ſhould be, that both might think me
which I would underſtand as an an
tion of myſelf, and a ſure ground tc
I have proceeded at leaſt with imp
perhaps with truth.

POSTHUMOUS SERMONS.*

SERMON I.

ON THE TRINITY.

1 Epiſtle general of St. JOHN v. 7.

For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghoſt: and theſe three are one.

THIS day being ſet apart to acknowledge our belief in the eternal *Trinity*, I thought it might be proper to employ my preſent diſcourſe entirely upon that ſubject: and I hope to handle it in ſuch a manner, that the moſt ignorant among

* Theſe ſermons are curious, and curious for ſuch reaſons as would make other works deſpicable. They were written in a careleſs hurrying manner; and were the offſpring of neceſſity, not of choice: ſo that one will ſee the original force of the Dean's genius more in theſe compoſitions, that were the legitimate ſons of duty, than in other pieces that were the natural ſons of love. They were held in ſuch low eſteem in his own thoughts, that, ſome years before he died, he gave away the whole collection to Dr. Sheridan, with the utmoſt indifference: "Here," ſays he, "are a bundle of my old ſermons. You may "have them if you pleaſe. They may be of uſe to you; they "have never been of any to me." The parcel given to Dr. Sheridan conſiſted, as I have heard, of about thirty-five ſermons. Three or four only are publiſhed; and thoſe I have read over with attention. ORRERY.

among you may return home better infor
your duty in this great point, than probal
are at preſent.

It muſt be confeſſed, that, by the weakn
indiſcretion of buſy, or, at beſt, of well-m
people, as well as by the malice of thoſe v
enemies to all revealed religion, and are n
tent to poſſeſs their own infidelity in
without communicating it, to the diſturb
mankind; I ſay, by theſe means, it muſt l
feſſed, that the doctrine of the Trinity ha
fered very much, and made Chriſtianity ſi
long with it. For, theſe two things m
granted: Firſt, That men of wicked lives
be very glad there were no truth in Chri
at all; and, ſecondly, If they can pick c
one ſingle article in the Chriſtian religion,
appears not agreeable to their own corrupt
ſon, or to the arguments of thoſe bad peop
follow the trade of ſeducing others, they p
ly conclude, that the truth of the whole
muſt ſink along with that one article. W
juſt as wiſe, as if a man ſhould ſay, bec
diſlikes one law of his country, he will th
obſerve no law at all; and yet that one la
be very reaſonable in itſelf, although he d
allow it, or does not know the reaſon of th
givers.

Thus it hath happened with the great d
of the *Trinity*; which word is indeed
ſcripture, but was a term of art, invented

earlier times, to expreſs the doctrine by a ſingle word, for the ſake of brevity and convenience. The doctrine, then, as delivered in holy ſcripture, though not exactly in the ſame words, is very ſhort, and amounts only to this; That the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, are each of them God, and yet there is but one God. For, as to the word *perſon*, when we ſay there are three perſons; and as to thoſe other explanations in the Athanaſian creed, this day read to you, (whether compiled by Athanaſius or no,) they were taken up three hundred years after Chriſt, to expound this doctrine; and I will tell you upon what occaſion. About that time, there ſprang up a hereſy of people called *Arians*, from one *Arius*, the leader of them. Theſe denied our Saviour to be God, although they allowed all the reſt of the goſpel, (wherein they were more ſincere than their followers among us.) Thus the Chriſtian world was divided into two parts, till at length, by the zeal and courage of St. Athanaſius, the Arians were condemned in a general council, and a creed formed upon the true faith, as St. Athanaſius hath ſettled it. This creed is now read at certain times in our churches; which, although it is uſeful for edification to thoſe who underſtand it, yet, ſince it contains ſome nice and philoſophical points, which few people can comprehend, the bulk of mankind is obliged to believe no more than the ſcripture-doctrine, as I have delivered it; becauſe that creed was intend-

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ed only as an anſwer to the Arians in their own way, who were very ſubtle diſputers.

But this hereſy having revived in the world about an hundred years ago, and continued ever ſince; not out of a zeal to truth, but to give a looſe to wickedneſs, by throwing off all religion; ſeveral divines, in order to anſwer the cavils of thoſe adverſaries to truth and morality, began to find out farther explanations of this doctrine of the Trinity, by rules of philoſophy; which have multiplied controverſies to ſuch a degree, as to beget ſcruples that have perplexed the minds of many ſober Chriſtians, who otherwiſe could never have entertained them.

I muſt, therefore, be ſo bold to affirm, that the method taken by many of thoſe learned men, to defend the doctrine of the Trinity, hath been founded upon a miſtake.

It muſt be allowed, that every man is bound to follow the rules and directions of that meaſure of reaſon which God hath given him. And indeed, he cannot do otherwiſe, if he will be ſincere, or act like a man. For inſtance, if I ſhould be commanded, by an angel from heaven, to believe it is midnight at noon-day; yet, I could not believe him. So, if I were directly told in ſcripture, that *three* are *one*, and *one* is *three*, I could not conceive or believe it, in the natural common ſenſe of that expreſſion; but muſt ſuppoſe, that ſomething dark or myſtical was meant, which it pleaſed God to conceal from me, and from all the

the world. Thus, in the text, *There are three that bear record*, &c. Am I capable of knowing and defining, what union and what diſtinction there may be in the divine nature, which, poſſibly, may be hid from the angels themſelves? Again, I ſee it plainly declared in ſcripture, that there is but one God; and yet, I find our Saviour claiming the prerogative of God, in knowing mens thoughts, in ſaying, *He and his Father are one;* and, *Before Abraham was, I am.* I read, that the diſciples worſhipped him; that Thomas ſaid to him, *My Lord and my God;* and St. John, chap. i. *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* I read likewiſe, that the Holy Ghoſt beſtowed the gift of tongues, and the power of working miracles; which, if rightly conſidered, is as great a miracle as any, that a number of illiterate men, ſhould, of a ſudden, be qualified to ſpeak all the languages then known in the world; ſuch as could be done by the inſpiration of God alone*. From theſe ſeveral texts, it is plain, that

* In defending the peculiar doctrines of Chriſtianity, perhaps it is always beſt to inſiſt upon the poſitive evidence, as the Dean has done in this ſermon: for, in every queſtion, he who undertakes to obviate objections, muſt neceſſarily be foiled by him who puts them. By the human intellect, little more than the ſurface of things can be known; and therefore, ſpeculative objections, which would puzzle an able philoſopher, may be eaſily raiſed, even againſt thoſe truths which admit of practical demonſtration. It was once objected to a philoſopher, who was explaining the laws of motion, That there could be no ſuch thing; for,

that God commands us to believe there is a
nion, and there is a diſtinction; but, what
union, or what that diſtinction is, all man
are equally ignorant, and muſt continue ſo
leaſt till the day of judgment, without ſome
revelation.

But, becauſe I cannot conceive the nature
this union and diſtinction in the divine nat
am I, therefore, to reject them as abſurd and
poſſible, as I would, if any one told me,
three men are one, and one man is three?
are told, that a man and his wife are one fl
this I can comprehend the meaning of; yet,
terally taken, it is a thing impoſſible. But,
apoſtle tells us, *We ſee but in part, and we k
but in part:* and yet, we would comprehend
the ſecret ways and workings of God.

Therefore, I ſhall again repeat the doctrin
the Trinity, as it is poſitively affirmed in ſc
ture: That God is there expreſſed in three
ferent names, as Father, as Son, and as H
Ghoſt; that each of theſe is God, and that t
is but one God. But this union and diſtinc
are a myſtery, utterly unknown to mankind.

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for, that a body muſt move, either in the place in which it
in the place in which it is *not;* but, both being impoſſible,
could be no motion. The objection the philoſopher immed
ly removed, by walking croſs the room. And, if none we
triumph in the ſtrength of popular objections againſt Chriſtia
but thoſe who could otherwiſe ſhew the fallacy of this ar
motion, the number of *moral philoſophers* among us would pr
bly be very few. *Hawkeſ.*

This is enough for any good Chriſtian to believe, on this great article, without ever enquiring any farther. And this can be contrary to no man's reaſon, although the knowledge of it is hid from him.

But there is another difficulty, of great importance among thoſe who quarrel with the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as with ſeveral other articles of Chriſtianity; which is, That our religion abounds in myſteries; and theſe they are ſo bold to revile as cant, impoſture, and prieſtcraft. It is impoſſible for us to determine, for what reaſons God thought fit to communicate ſome things to us in part, and leave ſome part a myſtery: but ſo it is in fact, and ſo the holy ſcriptures tell us in ſeveral places. For inſtance, the reſurrection and change of our bodies, are called myſteries by St. Paul; our Saviour's incarnation is another. The kingdom of God is called a myſtery by our Saviour, to be only known to his diſciples; ſo is faith, and the word of God, by St. Paul. I omit many others. So that, to declare againſt all myſteries, without diſtinction or exception, is to declare againſt the whole tenor of the New Teſtament.

There are two conditions that may bring a myſtery under ſuſpicion: *Firſt*, When it is not taught and commanded in holy writ: Or, *ſecondly*, When the myſtery turns to the advantage of thoſe who preach it to others. Now, as to the *firſt*, It can never be ſaid, that we preach myſte-

ries without warrant from holy ſcripture; although I confeſs, this of the *Trinity* may have ſometimes been explained by human invention, which might, perhaps, better have been ſpared. As to the *ſecond*, It will not be poſſible to charge the Proteſtant prieſthood with propoſing any temporal advantage to themſelves, by broaching, or multiplying, or preaching of myſteries. Does this myſtery of the *Trinity*, for inſtance, and the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, bring the leaſt profit or power to the preachers? No; it is as great a myſtery to themſelves, as it is to the meaneſt of their hearers; and may be rather a cauſe of humiliation, by putting their underſtanding, in that point, upon a level with the moſt ignorant of their flock. It is true, indeed, the Roman church hath very much enriched herſelf, by trading in myſteries, for which they have not the leaſt authority from ſcripture, and which were fitted only to advance their own temporal wealth and grandeur; ſuch as, *tranſubſtantiation*, *worſhipping of images*, *indulgences for ſins*, *purgatory*, and *maſſes for the dead*, with many more. But, it is the perpetual talent of thoſe who have ill-will to our church, or a contempt for all religion, taken up by the wickedneſs of their lives, to charge us with the errors and corruptions of Popery, which all Proteſtants have thrown off near two hundred years; whereas, thoſe myſteries held by us, have no proſpect of power, pomp, or wealth; but have been ever maintained by the univerſal body of

of true believers, from the days of the apoſtles, and will be ſo to the reſurrection; neither will the gates of hell prevail againſt them.

It may be thought, perhaps, a ſtrange thing, that God ſhould require us to believe myſteries, while the reaſon or manner of what we are to believe, is above our comprehenſion, and wholly concealed from us. Neither doth it appear, at firſt ſight, that the believing, or not believing them, doth concern either the glory of God, or contribute to the goodneſs or wickedneſs of our lives. But this is a great and dangerous miſtake. We ſee what a mighty weight is laid upon faith, both in the Old and New Teſtament. In the former, we read, how the faith of Abraham is praiſed, who could believe, that God would raiſe from him a great nation, at the very ſame time that he was commanded to ſacrifice his only ſon, and deſpaired of any other iſſue: and this was to him a great myſtery. Our Saviour is perpetually preaching faith to his diſciples, or reproaching them with the want of it; and St. Paul produceth numerous examples of the wonders done by faith. And all this is highly reaſonable: for, faith is an entire dependence upon the truth, the power, the juſtice, and the mercy of God; which dependence will certainly incline us to obey him in all things. So that the great excellency of faith conſiſts in the conſequence it hath upon our actions: as, if we depend upon the truth and wiſdom of a man, we ſhall certainly be more diſpoſ-

ed to follow his advice. Therefore, let no man think, that he can lead as good a moral life without faith, as with it; for this reaſon, becauſe he who has no faith, cannot, by the ſtrength of his own reaſon or endeavours, ſo eaſily reſiſt temptations, as the other, who depends upon God's aſſiſtance in the overcoming his frailties, and is ſure to be rewarded for ever in heaven, for his victory over them. *Faith*, ſays the apoſtle, *is the evidence of things not ſeen.* He means, that faith is a virtue, by which any thing commanded us by God to believe, appears evident and certain to us, although we do not ſee, nor can conceive it; becauſe, by faith, we entirely depend upon the truth and power of God.

It is an old and true diſtinction, that things may be above our reaſon, without being contrary to it. Of this kind, are the power, the nature, and the univerſal preſence of God, with innumerable other points. How little do thoſe who quarrel with myſteries, know of the commoneſt actions of nature? The growth of an animal, of a plant, or of the ſmalleſt ſeed, is a myſtery to the wiſeſt among men. If an ignorant perſon were told, that a loadſtone would draw iron at a diſtance, he might ſay, it was a thing contrary to his reaſon, and could not believe, before he ſaw it with his eyes.

The manner whereby the ſoul and body are united, and how they are diſtinguiſhed, is wholly unaccountable to us. We ſee but one part,

and

and yet we know we conſiſt of two: and this is a myſtery we cannot comprehend, any more than that of the *Trinity*.

From what hath been ſaid, it is manifeſt, that God did never command us to believe, nor his miniſters to preach, any doctrine which is contrary to the reaſon he hath pleaſed to endue us with; but, for his own wiſe ends, has thought fit to conceal from us the nature of the thing he commands; thereby to try our faith and obedience, and increaſe our dependence upon him.

It is highly probable, that, if God ſhould pleaſe to reveal unto us this great myſtery of the *Trinity*, or ſome other myſteries in our holy religion, we ſhould not be able to underſtand them, unleſs he would, at the ſame time, think fit to beſtow on us ſome new powers or faculties of the mind, which we want at preſent, and are reſerved till the day of reſurrection to life eternal. *For now*, as the apoſtle ſays, *we ſee through a glaſs, darkly, but then face to face.*

Thus, we ſee, the matter is brought to this iſſue; we muſt either believe what God directly commands us in holy ſcripture, or we muſt wholly reject the ſcripture, and the Chriſtian religion, which we pretend to profeſs. But this, I hope, is too deſperate a ſtep for any of us to make.

I have already obſerved, that thoſe who preach up the belief of the *Trinity*, or of any other myſtery, cannot propoſe any temporal advantage to themſelves by ſo doing. But this is not the caſe

of thoſe who oppoſe theſe doctrines. Do *the* lead better moral lives than a good Chriſtian Are *they* more juſt in their dealings? more chaſte or temperate, or charitable? Nothing at all o this; but, on the contrary, their intent is to o verthrow all religion, that they may gratify thei vices, without any reproach from the world, o their own conſcience; and are zealous to brin over as many others as they can to their ow opinions; becauſe, it is ſome kind of ima ginary comfort, to have a multitude on their ſide

There is no miracle mentioned in holy writ which, if it were ſtrictly examined, is not a much contrary to common reaſon, and as muc a myſtery, as this doctrine of the *Trinity;* an therefore, we may, with equal juſtice, deny th truth of them all. For inſtance, it is againſt th laws of nature, that a human body ſhould be a ble to walk upon the water, as St. Peter is re corded to have done; or that a dead carçaſ ſhould be raiſed from the grave after three days when it began to corrupt; which thoſe who un derſtand anatomy, will pronounce to be impoſ ſible, by the common rules of nature and reaſon Yet, theſe miracles, and many others, are poſi tively affirmed in the goſpel; and theſe we mu believe, or give up our holy religion to Atheiſt and Infidels.

I ſhall now make a few inferences and obſerva tions upon what hath been ſaid.

Firſt, It would be well, if people would no lay ſo much weight on their own reaſon, in mat

ter

ters of religion, as to think every thing impoſſible and abſurd, which they cannot conceive. How often do we contradict the right rules of reaſon, in the whole courſe of our lives? *Reaſon* itſelf, is true and juſt; but the *reaſon* of every particular man, is weak and wavering, perpetually ſwayed and turned by his intereſts, his paſſions, and his vices. Let any man but conſider, when he hath a controverſy with another, though his cauſe be ever ſo unjuſt, though the whole world be againſt him, how blinded he is, by the love of himſelf, to believe that right is wrong, and wrong is right, when it makes for his own advantage. Where is then the right uſe of his reaſon, which he ſo much boaſts of, and which he would blaſphemouſly ſet up to control the commands of the Almighty?

Secondly, When men are tempted to deny the myſteries of religion, let them examine and ſearch into their own hearts, whether they have not ſome favourite ſin, which is of their party in this diſpute, and which is equally contrary to other commands of God in the goſpel. For, why do men love darkneſs rather than light? The ſcripture tells us, *Becauſe their deeds are evil;* and there can be no other reaſon aſſigned. Therefore, when men are curious and inquiſitive, to diſcover ſome weak ſides in Chriſtianity, and inclined to favour every thing that is offered to its diſadvantage, it is plain they wiſh it were not true: and thoſe wiſhes can proceed from nothing but an

evil

evil conſcience; becauſe, if there be tru religion, their condition muſt be miſeral

And therefore, *thirdly*, Men ſhould that raiſing difficulties concerning the in religion, cannot make them more wi ed, or virtuous; better neighbours, or fi more ſerviceable to their country; but, they pretend, will deſtroy their inward mind, by perpetual doubts and fears ariſin breaſts. And God forbid we ſhould eve times ſo bad, when dangerous opinions i will be a means to get favour and pre although, even in ſuch a caſe, it would traffic, to gain the world, and loſe our o So that, upon the whole, it will be imp find any real uſe towards a virtuous or h by denying the myſteries of the goſpel.

Fourthly, Thoſe ſtrong unbelievers, wh that all myſteries ſhould be ſquared and to their own reaſon, might have ſomewh for themſelves, if they could ſatisfy the reaſon of mankind in their opinions. I in they are miſerably defective, abſurd, culous. They ſtrain at a gnat, and ſwall mel: they can believe, that the world w

* It is an high encomium on reformed Chriſtia ſtrong argument of its ſuperior excellence, that a always inclines men to wiſh it were not true. It c pear, that Mahometans and Papiſts wiſh their re falſe, in proportion as their lives are immoral; and Dryden, that, not being able to fortify himſelf in i died a Papiſt. *Hawkeſ.*

hance; that God doth not concern himſelf
i things below, will neither puniſh vice, nor
ard virtue; that religion was invented by
ning men, to keep the world in awe; with
y other opinions equally falſe and deteſtable;
nſt the common light of nature, as well as
n; againſt the univerſal ſentiments of all ci-
ed nations, and offenſive to the ears even of
ier Heathen.

aſtly, Since the world abounds with peſtilent
s, particularly written againſt this doctrine
ie *Trinity*, it is fit to inform you, that the
ors of them proceed wholly upon a miſtake.
y would ſhew how impoſſible it is, that *three*
be *one*, and *one* can be *three*: whereas, the
ture ſaith no ſuch thing, at leaſt in that man-
hey would make it; but only that there is
kind of unity and diſtinction in the divine
re, which mankind cannot poſſibly compre-
. Thus, the whole doctrine is ſhort and
, and in itſelf incapable of any controverſy;
God himſelf hath pronounced the fact, but
ly concealed the manner. And therefore,
r divines, who thought fit to anſwer thoſe
ed books, have been miſtaken too, by an-
ng fools in their folly, and endeavouring to
in a myſtery, which God intended to keep
t from us. And as I would exhort all men
oid reading thoſe wicked books written a-
t this doctrine, as dangerous and pernicious;
hink they may omit the anſwers, as unneceſ-
ſary.

ſary. This, I confeſs, will probably affect but few or none among the generality of our congregations, who do not much trouble themſelves with books, at leaſt of this kind. However, many, who do not read themſelves, are ſeduced by others that do; and thus become unbelievers upon truſt, and at ſecond hand; and this is too frequent a caſe: for which reaſon, I have endeavoured to put this doctrine upon a ſhort and ſure foot, levelled to the meaneſt underſtanding; by which we may, as the apoſtle directs, be ready always to give an anſwer to every man that aſketh us a reaſon of the hope that is in us, with meekneſs and fear.

And thus I have done with my ſubject; which probably I ſhould not have choſen, if I had not been invited to it by the occaſion of this ſeaſon, appointed on purpoſe to celebrate the myſteries of the *Trinity*, and the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt, wherein we pray to be kept ſtedfaſt in this faith; and what this faith is, I have ſhewn you in the plaineſt manner I could. For, upon the whole, it is no more than this: God commands us, by our dependence upon his truth and his holy word, to believe a fact that we do not underſtand. And this is no more, than what we do every day in the works of nature, upon the credit of men of learning. Without faith, we can do no works acceptable to God; for if they proceed from any other principle, they will not advance our ſalvation; and this faith, as I have explained it, we may acquire, without giving up our ſenſes, or contradicting

adicting our reaſon. May God, of his infi-
nercy, inſpire us with true faith in every
: and myſtery of our holy religion, ſo as to
e us to do what is pleaſing in his ſight:
his we pray through Jeſus Chriſt; to whom,
the Father and the Holy Ghoſt, the myſ-
is incomprehenſible ONE GOD, be all ho-
and glory, now and for ever more. *Amen.*

This is one of the beſt ſermons in its kind. Dr. Swift
ot to have made ſuch a plan his voluntary choice, nor to
ilt, *ſuo ex motu*, upon ſuch a baſis; but he has complet-
uperſtructure in a moſt maſterly manner. The mate-
ſwer the dignity of the edifice; and the artificer may aſ-
eat honour, upon the completion of ſo noble, ſo ſimple,
uſeful a pile. The myſterious parts of our religion are
have dreadful effects upon weak minds. The general
nts upon the ſacred writings, and the ſeveral ſermons up-
moſt abſtruſe points of ſcripture, are too often compoſed
gloomy ſtyle. Damnation, eternal damnation, is placed
l its horror before our eyes; and we are ſo terrified at the
t, that fear makes us imagine we can comprehend my-
which, on this ſide of the grave, muſt be for ever deni-
our limited underſtandings. Swift has taken the ſafeſt,
properеſt method of expounding theſe *arcana*. He ad-
every poſition that can be eſtabliſhed upon ſo incompre-
: a ſubject. He ſuſtains the belief, avows the doctrine,
ipts the matter of faith as well as poſſible to the human
y. His manner of reaſoning is maſterly, and his argu-
are nervous, particularly, where he ſays, " It is highly
able, that if God ſhould pleaſe to reveal unto us this
t myſtery of the Trinity, or ſome other myſteries in our
religion, we ſhould not be able to underſtand them, un-
he would, at the ſame time, think fit to beſtow on us ſome
powers or faculties of the mind, which we want at pre-
, and are reſerved till the day of reſurrection to life eter-
" *p.* 137. *Orrery.*

SER-

SERMON II.

ON MUTUAL SUBJECTION.

1 St. PETER v. 5.

——Yea, all of you be ſubject one to another.

THE apoſtle having, in many parts of this e piſtle, given directions to Chriſtians con cerning the duty of ſubjection, or obedience t ſuperiors; in the ſeveral inſtances of the ſubjec to the prince, the child to his parent, the ſervan to his maſter, the wife to her huſband, and th younger to the elder; doth here, in the word of my text, ſum up the whole, by advancing point of doctrine, which at firſt may appear a lit tle extraordinary: *Yea, all of you*, ſaith he, *be ſub ject one to another.* For it ſhould ſeem, that tw perſons cannot properly be ſaid to be ſubject t each other, and that ſubjection is only due fror inferiors to thoſe above them: yet St. Paul hat ſeveral paſſages to the ſame purpoſe. For he ex horts the Romans, *in honour to prefer one another* ‡ and the Philippians, that in *lowlineſs of min they ſhould let each eſteem other better than them ſelves;* † and the Epheſians, that they ſhould *ſub mit themſelves one to another in the fear of the Lord.* Here we find theſe two great apoſtles recommend ing to all Chriſtians, this duty of mutual ſubjec jection. For we may obſerve by St. Peter, tha

havin

‡ Rom. xii. 10. † Phil. ii. 3. ‖ Eph. v. 21.

having mentioned the ſeveral relations which men bear to each other, as governor and ſubject, maſter and ſervant, and the reſt which I have already repeated, he makes no exception; but ſums up the whole, with commanding *all to be ſubject one to another*. From whence we may conclude, that this ſubjection due from all men to all men, is ſomething more than the compliment of courſe, when our betters are pleaſed to tell us they are our humble ſervants, but underſtand us to be their ſlaves.

I know very well, that ſome of thoſe who explain this text, apply it to humility, to the duties of charity, to private exhortations, and to bearing with each other's infirmities; and it is probable, the apoſtle may have had a regard to all theſe. But, however, many learned men agree, that there is ſomething more underſtood; and ſo the words, in their plain natural meaning, muſt import; as you will obſerve yourſelves, if you read them with the beginning of the verſe, which is thus: *Likewiſe ye younger, ſubmit yourſelves unto the elder: yea, all of you be ſubject one to another*. So that, upon the whole, there muſt be ſome kind of ſubjection due from every man to every man, which cannot be made void by any power, pre-eminence, or authority whatſoever. Now, what ſort of ſubjection this is, and how it ought to be paid, ſhall be the ſubject of my preſent diſcourſe.

As God hath contrived all the works of nature to be uſeful, and, in ſome manner, a ſupport to

each other, by which the whole frame of the world, under his Providence, is preſerved and kept up; ſo, among mankind, our particular ſtations are appointed to each of us by God Almighty, wherein we are obliged to act, as far as our power reacheth, towards the good of the whole community. And he who doth not perform that part aſſigned him, towards advancing the benefit of the whole, in proportion to his opportunities and abilities, is not only an uſeleſs, but a very miſchievous member of the public; becauſe he takes his ſhare of the profit, and yet leaves his ſhare of the burden to be borne by others, which is the true principal cauſe of moſt miſeries and misfortunes in life. For a wiſe man who does not aſſiſt with his counſels, a great man with his protection, a rich man with his bounty and charity, and a poor man with his labour, are perfect nuiſances in a commonwealth. Neither is any condition of life more honourable in the ſight of God, than another; otherwiſe, he would be a reſpecter of perſons, which, he aſſures us, he is not: for he hath propoſed the ſame ſalvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or ſtations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of ſtrength or wiſdom than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are uſually more defective in both, than thouſands of their ſubjects. They depend for every neceſſary of life upon the meaneſt of their people: beſides, obedience and ſubjection

were

were never enjoined by God, to humour the paſſions, luſts, and vanities of thoſe who demand them from us; but we are commanded to obey our governors, becauſe diſobedience would breed ſeditions in the ſtate. Thus, ſervants are directed to obey their maſters, children their parents, and wives their huſbands; not from any reſpect of perſons in God, but becauſe, otherwiſe, there would be nothing but confuſion in private families. This matter will be clearly explained, by conſidering the compariſon which St. Paul makes between the church of Chriſt, and the body of man: for the ſame reſemblance will hold, not only to families and kingdoms, but to the whole corporation of mankind. *The eye*, ſaith he, *cannot ſay unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more, thoſe members of the body which ſeem to be more feeble, are neceſſary. And whether one member ſuffer, all the members ſuffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it* *. The caſe is directly the ſame among mankind. The prince cannot ſay to the merchant, I have no need of thee; nor the merchant to the labourer, I have no need of thee. Nay, much more, thoſe members which ſeem to be more feeble, are neceſſary. For the poor are generally more neceſſary members of the commonwealth than the rich: which clearly ſhews, that God never intended ſuch poſſeſſions for the

* 1 Cor. xii. 21, 22, 26.

ſake and ſervice of thoſe to whom he lends
but becauſe he hath aſſigned every man h
ticular ſtation to be uſeful in life, and t
the reaſon given by the apoſtle, *that there
no ſchiſm in the body.*

From hence may partly be gathered, the
of that ſubjection which we all owe to on
ther. God Almighty hath been pleaſed
us into an imperfect ſtate, where we hav
petual occaſion of each other's aſſiſtance.
is none ſo low, as not to be in a capacity o
ing the higheſt; nor ſo high, as not to wa
aſſiſtance of the loweſt.

It plainly appears, from what hath bee
that no one human creature is more worth
another in the ſight of God, farther than a
ing to the goodneſs or holineſs of their
and that power, wealth, and the like ot
advantages, are ſo far from being the m
God's approving or preferring thoſe on
they are beſtowed, that, on the contrary,
pleaſed to ſuffer them to be almoſt ingro
thoſe who have leaſt title to his favour.
according to this equality wherein God hat
ced all mankind with relation to himſelf, yc
obſerve, that, in all the relations betwee
and man, there is a mutual dependence, v
by the one cannot ſubſiſt without the other.
no man can be a prince without ſubjects,
maſter without ſervants, nor a father w
children. And this both explains and co

ctrine of the text: for, where there is a
al dependence, there muſt be a mutual duty,
onſequently a mutual ſubjection. For in-
, the ſubject muſt obey his prince, becauſe
ommands it, human laws require it, and
fety of the public makes it neceſſary. For
me reaſons, we muſt obey all that are in
rity, and ſubmit ourſelves, not only to the
and gentle, but alſo to the froward, whether
ule according to our liking or no. On the
ſide, in thoſe countries that pretend to free-
princes are ſubject to thoſe laws which their
e have choſen; they are bound to protect
ſubjects in liberty, property, and religion;
eive their petitions, and redreſs their griev-
: ſo that the beſt prince, is, in the opinion
ſe men, only the greateſt ſervant of the na-
not only a ſervant to the public in general,
in ſome ſort, to every man in it. In the
nanner, a ſervant owes obedience, and dili-
, and faithfulneſs, to his maſter; from
, at the ſame time, he hath a juſt demand
otection, and maintenance, and gentle treat-
. Nay, even the poor beggar hath a juſt
nd of an alms from the rich man; who is
of fraud, injuſtice, and oppreſſion, if he
not afford relief according to his abilities.
t this ſubjection we all owe one to another,
where more neceſſary, than in the common
rſations of life; for, without it, there could
ſociety among men. If the learned would

not ſometimes ſubmit to the ignorant, th
to the ſimple, the gentle to the froward, t
to the weakneſſes of the young, there wo
nothing but everlaſting variance in the
This our Saviour himſelf confirmed by hi
example; for he appeared in the form of
vant, and waſhed his diſciples' feet, addin
memorable words, *Ye call me Lord and M
and ye ſay well: for ſo I am. If I then, you
and Maſter, waſh your feet, how much mor
ye to waſh one another's feet?* Under whi
preſſion, of waſhing the feet, is included a
ſubjection, aſſiſtance, love, and duty, whicl
good Chriſtian ought to pay his brother, in
ever ſtation God hath placed him. For the
eſt prince and the meaneſt ſlave, are not,
finite degrees, ſo diſtant, as our Saviour an
diſciples, whoſe feet he vouchſafed to waſ

And, although this doctrine of ſubjectir
ſelves to one another, may ſeem to grate
the pride and vanity of mankind, and may
fore be hard to be digeſted by thoſe wh
themſelves upon their greatneſs, or their v
yet it is really no more than what moſt men p
upon other occaſions. For, if our neighbour,
our inferior, comes to ſee us, we riſe to recei
we place him above us, and reſpect him, a
were better than ourſelves; and this is thoug
decent and neceſſary, and is uſually calle
manners. Now, the duty required by the a
is, only, that we ſhould enlarge our minc

that, what we thus practiſe in the common courſe of life, we ſhould imitate in all our actions and proceedings whatſoever; ſince our Saviour tells us, that every man is our neighbour, and ſince we are ſo ready, in the point of civility, to yield to others in our own houſes, where only we have any title to govern.

Having thus ſhewn you, what ſort of ſubjection it is, which all men owe one to another, and in what manner it ought to be paid; I ſhall now draw ſome obſervations from what hath been ſaid.

And, *firſt*, A thorough practice of this duty of ſubjecting ourſelves to the wants and infirmities of each other, would utterly extinguiſh in us the vice of pride.

For, if God has pleaſed to intruſt me with a talent, not for my own ſake, but for the ſervice of others, and, at the ſame time, hath left me full of wants and neceſſities, which others muſt ſupply; I can then have no cauſe to ſet any extraordinary value upon myſelf, or to deſpiſe my brother, becauſe he hath not the ſame talents which were lent to me. His being may probably be as uſeful to the public as mine; and, therefore, by the rules of right reaſon, I am in no ſort preferable to him.

Secondly, It is very manifeſt, from what has been ſaid, that no man ought to look upon the advantages of life, ſuch as riches, honour, power, and the like, as his property, but merely as a truſt

truſt which God hath depoſited with him, employed for the uſe of his brethren: and will certainly puniſh the breach of that though the laws of man will not, or rath deed cannot; becauſe the truſt was conferre ly by God, who has not left it to any pow earth to decide infallibly, whether a man a good uſe of his talents or no, or to puniſ where he fails. And, therefore, God ſee have more particularly taken this matter in own hands, and will, moſt certainly, rew puniſh us, in proportion to our good or il formance in it. Now, although the advar which one man poſſeſſeth more than an may, in ſome ſenſe, be called his property, reſpect to other men; yet, with reſpect to they are, as I ſaid, only a truſt; which will ly appear from hence: If a man does nc thoſe advantages to the good of the public, benefit of his neighbour, it is certain, he not deſerve them, and, conſequently, that never intended them for a bleſſing to him; on the other ſide, whoever does employ h lents as he ought, will find, by his own e ence, that they were chiefly lent him for th vice of others; for, to the ſervice of othe will certainly employ them.

Thirdly, If we could all be brought to pr this duty of ſubjecting ourſelves to each oth would very much contribute to the general pineſs of mankind. For this would root ou

vy and malice from the heart of man; becauſe you cannot envy your neighbour's ſtrength, if he make uſe of it to defend your life, or carry your burden; you cannot envy his wiſdom, if he gives you good counſel; nor his riches, if he ſupplies you in your wants; nor his greatneſs, if he employs it to your protection. The miſeries of life are not properly owing to the unequal diſtribution of things; but God Almighty, the great King of Heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth, who, although, perhaps, intending well themſelves, have often moſt abominable miniſters and ſtewards; and thoſe generally the vileſt, to whom they intruſt the moſt talents. But here is the difference, that the princes of this world ſee by other mens eyes; but God ſees all things: and, therefore, whenever he permits his bleſſings to be dealt among thoſe who are unworthy, we may certainly conclude, that he intends them only as a puniſhment to an evil world, as well as to the owners. It were well, if thoſe would conſider this, whoſe riches ſerve them only as a ſpur to avarice, or as an inſtrument to their luſts; whoſe wiſdom is only of this world, to put falſe colours upon things, to call good evil, and evil good, againſt the conviction of their own conſciences; and, laſtly, who employ their power and favour in acts of oppreſſion or injuſtice, in miſrepreſenting perſons and things, or in countenancing the wicked, to the ruin of the innocent.

Fourthly, The practice of this duty, of being ſubject to one another, would make us reſt contented

tented in the ſeveral ſtations of life wherein God hath thought fit to place us; becauſe it would, in the beſt and eaſieſt manner, bring us back, as it were, to that early ſtate of the goſpel, when Chriſtians had all things in common. For, if the poor found the rich diſpoſed to ſupply their wants; if the ignorant found the wiſe ready to inſtruct and direct them; or if the weak might always find protection from the mighty; they could, none of them, with the leaſt pretence of juſtice, lament their own condition.

From all that hath been hitherto ſaid, it appears, that great abilities of any ſort, when they are employed as God directs, do but make the owners of them greater and more painful ſervants to their neighbour and the public. However, we are by no means to conclude from hence, that they are not really bleſſings, when they are in the hands of good men. For, firſt, what can be a greater honour, than to be choſen one of the ſtewards and diſpenſers of God's bounty to mankind? What is there that can give a generous ſpirit more pleaſure and complacency of mind than to conſider, that he is an inſtrument of doing much good? that great numbers owe to him under God, their ſubſiſtence, their ſafety, the health, and the good conduct of their lives? The wickedeſt man upon earth takes a pleaſure in doing good to thoſe he loves; and, therefore, ſurely a good Chriſtian, who obeys our Saviour's command, of loving all men, cannot but take delight

i

g good, even to his enemies. God, who
l things to all men, can receive nothing
ıy; and thoſe among men who do the
ood, and receive the feweſt returns, do
emble their Creator; for which reaſon,
l delivers it as a ſaying of our Saviour,
more bleſſed to give, than to receive. By this
hat muſt become of thoſe things which
ld values as the greateſt bleſſings, riches,
and the like, when our Saviour plainly
nes, that the beſt way to make them bleſſ-
, to part with them? Therefore, although
antages which one man hath over another,
called bleſſings, yet they are by no means
the ſenſe the world uſually underſtands.
or example, great riches are no bleſſing in
ves; becauſe the poor man, with the com-
ceſſaries of life, enjoys more health, and
ver cares, without them. How then do
come bleſſings? No otherwiſe, than by
mployed in feeding the hungry, clothing
ed, rewarding worthy men, and, in ſhort,
cts of charity and generoſity. Thus, like-
ower is no bleſſing in itſelf, becauſe pri-
:n bear leſs envy, and trouble, and an-
without it. But, when it is employed to
the innocent, to relieve the oppreſſed, and
ſh the oppreſſor, then it becomes a great
. And ſo, laſtly, even great wiſdom, is,
opinion of Solomon, not a bleſſing in it-
or, *in much wiſdom is much ſorrow;* and
men

men of common understandings, if they serv
God, and mind their callings, make fewer mi
takes in the conduct of life, than those who hav
better heads. And yet, wisdom is a migh
blessing, when it is applied to good purposes, t
instruct the ignorant, to be a faithful counsello
either in public or private, to be a director t
youth, and to many other ends, needless here t
mention.

To conclude: God sent us into the world t
obey his commands, by doing as much good
our abilities will reach, and as little evil as ou
many infirmities will permit. Some he hath on
ly trusted with one talent, some with five, an
some with ten. No man is without his talent
and he that is faithful or negligent in a littl
shall be rewarded or punished, as well as he th
hath been so in a great deal.

Consider what hath been said, &c.

*** This sermon is upon mutual subjection, and that du
which is owing from one man to another. A clearer style, o
discourse more properly adapted to a public audience, can sca
be framed. Every paragraph is simple, nervous, and intelligi
The threads of each argument are closely connected, and lo
cally pursued. But in places where the Dean has the least
portunity to introduce political maxims, or to dart an arrow
the conduct of princes, he never fails to indulge himself in
usual manner of thinking; as will appear from the follow
quotation: "A wise man," says Dr. Swift, "who does
"assist with his counsels, a great man with his protection
"rich man with his bounty and charity, and a poor man w
"his labour, are perfect nuisances in a commonwealth. N
"ther is any condition of life more honourable, in the sight
"G

" God than another; otherwiſe, he would be a reſpecter of per-
" ſons, which, he aſſures us, he is not: for he hath propoſed the
" ſame ſalvation to all men, and hath only placed them in dif-
" ferent ways or ſtations to work it out. Princes are born with
" no more advantages of ſtrength or wiſdom than other men;
" and, by an unhappy education, are uſually more defective in
" both, than thouſands of their ſubjects," *p.* 146. Again, in the ſame ſtrain, " The beſt prince is, in the opinion of wiſe
" men, only the greateſt ſervant of the nation; not only a ſer-
" vant to the public in general, but in ſome ſort to every man
" in it," *p.* 149. But the moſt extraordinary paſſage, is a co-vert ſtroke at the higheſt order of his brethren the clergy. It runs thus: " The miſeries of life are not properly owing to
" the unequal diſtribution of things; but God Almighty, the
" great King of heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth;
" who, although, perhaps, intending well themſelves, have often
" moſt abominable miniſters and ſtewards, and thoſe generally
" the vileſt, to whom they entruſt the moſt talents," *p.* 153. Dark as it is, this paragraph requires no explanation. The author's natural turn of mind breaks forth upon all occaſions, and the politician frequently outweighs the divine. If the dictates of ſuch a ſpirit were capable of forcing their way from the pulpit, what a glorious, what a conſiſtent figure muſt Swift have made in the roſtrum at Rome, or in one of the porticos at Athens? *Orrery.*

SERMON III.

ON THE TESTIMONY OF CONSCIENCE.

2 COR. i. 12. part of it.

———*For our rejoicing is this, the teſtimony of our conſcience.*

THERE is no word more frequently in the mouths of men, than that of *conſcience;* and the meaning of it is, in ſome meaſure, ge-

nerally underſtood. However, becauſe it is like wiſe a word extremely abuſed by many peopl who apply other meanings to it, which God Al mighty never intended; I ſhall explain it to yo in the cleareſt manner I am able. The wor *conſcience*, properly ſignifies that knowledge whic a man hath within himſelf, of his own thoughi and actions. And becauſe, if a man judget fairly of his own actions, by comparing thei with the law of God, his mind will either ap prove or condemn him, according as he hat done good or evil; therefore, this knowledge, conſcience, may properly be called both an a cuſer and a judge. So that, whenever our con ſcience accuſeth us, we are certainly guilty: bi we are not always innocent, when it doth not a cuſe us; for very often, through the hardneſs our hearts, or the fondneſs and favour we bear ourſelves, or through ignorance or neglect, we not ſuffer our conſcience to take any cogniſan of ſeveral ſins we commit. There is another o fice likewiſe belonging to conſcience, which that of being our director and guide; and th wrong uſe of this hath been the occaſion of mo evils under the ſun, than almoſt all other cauſ put together. For, as conſcience is nothing el but the knowledge we have of what we are thin ing and doing; ſo, it can guide us no further th that knowledge reacheth; and therefore, G hath placed conſcience in us, to be our direct only in thoſe actions which ſcripture and reaſ plainly tell us to be good or evil. But, in caſ

too difficult or doubtful for us to comprehend or determine, there, conſcience is not concerned; becauſe it cannot adviſe in what it doth not underſtand, nor decide where it is itſelf in doubt: but, by God's great mercy, thoſe difficult points are never of abſolute neceſſity to our ſalvation. There is likewiſe another evil, that men often ſay, a thing is againſt their conſcience, when really it is not. For inſtance, aſk any of thoſe who differ from the worſhip eſtabliſhed, why they do not come to church? they will ſay, they diſlike the ceremonies, the prayers, the habits, and the like: and therefore, it goes againſt their conſcience. But they are miſtaken; their teacher hath put thoſe words into their mouths; for a man's conſcience can go no higher than his knowledge; and therefore, till he has thoroughly examined, by ſcripture, and the practice of the ancient church, whether thoſe points are blameable or no, his conſcience cannot poſſibly direct him to condemn them. Hence have likewiſe ariſen thoſe miſtakes about what is uſually called *liberty of conſcience*; which, properly ſpeaking, is no more than a liberty of knowing our own thoughts; which liberty no one can take from us. But thoſe words have obtained quite different meanings. Liberty of conſcience is now-a-days not only underſtood to be the liberty of believing what men pleaſe, but alſo of endeavouring to propagate that belief as much as they can, and to overthrow the faith which the laws have already eſtabliſhed, and to be rewarded by the public for

thoſe wicked endeavours: and this is the
of conſcience which the Fanatics are now,
ly in the face of the world, endeavouring
their utmoſt application. At the ſame ti
cannot but be obſerved, that thoſe very p
who, under pretence of a public ſpirit, ar
derneſs towards their Chriſtian brethren,
zealous for ſuch a liberty of conſcience
are, of all others, the leaſt tender to thoſe w
fer from them in the ſmalleſt point relat
government; and I wiſh I could not ſay, t
majeſty of the living God may be offende
more ſecurity than the memory of a dead
But the wiſdom of the world, at preſent,
to agree with that of the Heathen emperor
ſaid, If the gods were offended, it was the
concern, and they were able to vindicate
ſelves.

But although conſcience hath been ab
thoſe wicked purpoſes which I have already
ed, yet a due regard to the directions it
gives us, as well as to its accuſations, repr
and advices, would be of the greateſt uſe t
kind, both for their preſent welfare and
happineſs.

Therefore my diſcourſe, at this time, ſ
directed to prove to you, that there is n
firm foundation for virtue, but on a con
which is guided by religion.

In order to this, I ſhall firſt ſhew you the
neſs and uncertainty of two falſe principles,

many people ſet up in the place of conſcience, for a guide to their actions.

The firſt of theſe principles, is what the world uſually calls *moral honeſty*. There are ſome people, who appear very indifferent as to religion, and yet have the repute of being juſt and fair in their dealings; and theſe are generally known by the character of good moral men. But now, if you look into the grounds and the motives of ſuch a man's actions, you ſhall find them to be no other than his own eaſe and intereſt. For example, you truſt a moral man with your money, in the way of trade; you truſt another with the defence of your cauſe at law; and, perhaps, they both deal juſtly with you. Why? not from any regard they have for juſtice, but becauſe their fortune depends upon their credit; and a ſtain of open public diſhoneſty, muſt be to their diſadvantage. But, let it conſiſt with ſuch a man's intereſt and ſafety to wrong you, and then it will be impoſſible you can have any hold upon him; becauſe there is nothing left to give him a check, or to put in the balance againſt his profit. For, if he hath nothing to govern himſelf by, but the opinion of the world; as long as he can conceal his injuſtice from the world, he thinks he is ſafe.

Beſides, it is found, by experience, that thoſe men who ſet up for morality, without regard to religion, are generally virtuous but in part: they will be juſt in their dealings between man and man; but, if they find themſelves diſpoſed to

pride, luſt, intemperance, or avarice, the
think their morality concerned, to check
any of theſe vices; becauſe it is the grea
ſuch men, that they may lawfully fol
dictates of nature, wherever their ſafety,
and fortune are not injured. So that,
whole, there is hardly one vice whicl
moral man may not, upon ſome occaſio
himſelf to practiſe.

' The other falſe principle, which ſome
up in the place of conſcience, to be thei
in life, is what thoſe, who pretend to it
honour.

This word is often made the ſanctio
oath; it is reckoned a great commendat
a man of ſtrict honour; and it is comm
derſtood, that a man of honour can
guilty of a baſe action. This is uſually
of military men, of perſons with title
others who pretend to birth and quali
true, indeed, that, in ancient times, it
verſally underſtood, that honour was th
of virtue; but, if ſuch honour as is no
going, will not permit a man to do a ba
it muſt be allowed, there are very few ſu

virtues, they were never learned in the catechiſm of honour; which contains but two precepts; the punctual payment of debts contracted at play, and the right underſtanding the ſeveral degrees of an affront, in order to revenge it by the death of an adverſary.

But, ſuppoſe this principle of honour, which ſome men ſo much boaſt of, did really produce more virtues than it ever pretended to; yet, ſince the very being of that honour depended upon the breath, the opinion, or the fancy of the people, the virtues derived from it could be of no long or certain duration. For example, ſuppoſe a man, from a principle of honour, ſhould reſolve to be juſt, or chaſte, or temperate, and yet the cenſuring world ſhould take a humour of refuſing him thoſe characters, he would then think the obligation at an end. Or, on the other ſide, if he thought he could gain honour by the falſeſt and vileſt action, (which is a caſe that very often happens,) he would then make no ſcruple to perform it. And God knows, it would be an unhappy ſtate, to have the religion, the liberty, or the property of a people, lodged in ſuch hands; which, however, hath been too often the caſe.

What I have ſaid upon this principle of honour, may perhaps be thought of ſmall concernment to moſt of you who are my hearers: however, a caution was not altogether unneceſſary; ſince there is nothing by which, not only the vulgar, but the honeſt tradeſman, hath been ſo much

deceived,

deceived, as this infamous pretence to ho
too many of their betters.

Having thus ſhewn you the weakneſs
certainty of thoſe principles which ſome
up in the place of conſcience, to direct
their actions; I ſhall now endeavour to
you, that there is no ſolid, firm foundatio
tue, but in a conſcience directed by the p
of religion.

There is no way of judging how far
depend upon the actions of men, otherw
by knowing the motives, and grounds, an
of them; and if the motives of our ac
not reſolved and determined into the law
they will be precarious and uncertain, ar
to perpetual changes. I will ſhew you
mean, by an example. Suppoſe a man
his duty to obey his parents, becauſe rea
him ſo, becauſe he is obliged by gratitu
becauſe the laws of his country commanc
do ſo: if he ſtops here, his parents can
laſting ſecurity; for an occaſion may
wherein it may be extremely his inter
diſobedient, and where the laws of the
lay no hold upon him: therefore, before
man can ſafely be truſted, he muſt proc
ther, and conſider, that his reaſon is th
God; that God commanded him to be
to the laws, and did, moreover, in a p
manner, enjoin him to be dutiful to his
after which if he lays due weight up

the end of his life; becauſe no earthly
can ever come in competition to balance
ger of offending his Creator, or the hap-
ıf pleaſing him. And of all this his con-
will certainly inform him, if he hath any
to religion.

dly, Fear and hope are the two greateſt
motives of all mens actions. But neither
ɜ paſſions will ever put us in the way of
ınleſs they be directed by conſcience. For,
h virtuous men do ſometimes accidentally
ıeir way to preferment, yet the world is ſo
ɜd, that no man can reaſonably hope to be
ɜd in it, merely upon account of his vir-
And conſequently, the fear of puniſhment
life, will preſerve men from very few vi-
ıce ſome of the blackeſt and baſeſt do of-
ɜe the ſureſt ſteps to favour; ſuch as, in-
le, hypocriſy, treachery, malice, ſuborna-
heiſm, and many more, which human laws
ɜ concern themſelves about. But, when
ıce placeth before us the hopes of everlaſt-
pineſs, and the fears of everlaſting miſery,
eward and puniſhment of our good or evil
our reaſon can find no way to avoid the
ſuch an argument, otherwiſe than by run-
ɔo infidelity.

ɔ, Conſcience will direct us to love God,
ıut our whole truſt and confidence in him.
ɜe of God will inſpire us with a deteſta-
ſin, as what is of all things moſt con-
his divine nature; and if we have an
entire

entire confidence in him, *that* will enable u
ſubdue and defpiſe all the allurements of
world.

It may here be objected, If conſcience b
ſure a director to us Chriſtians in the condu
our lives, how comes it to paſs, that the an
Heathens, who had no other lights but tho
nature and reaſon, ſhould ſo far exceed us i
manner of virtue, as plainly appears by man
amples they have left on record?

To which it may be anſwered: Firſt,
Heathens were extremely ſtrict and exact ir
education of their children; whereas, amon
this care is ſo much laid aſide, that the more
has bleſſed any man with eſtate or quality,
ſo much the leſs in proportion is the care he
in the education of his children, and partic
of that child which is to inherit his fortun
which, the effects are viſible enough amon
great ones of the world. Again, thoſe Hea
did, in a particular manner, inſtil the prin
into their children, of loving their cou
which is ſo far otherwiſe, now-a-days, that
ſeveral parties among us, there is none of
that ſeem to have ſo much as heard whether

work upon: whereas, too many of thoſe who would be thought the moſt conſiderable among s, do, both by their practices and their diſcour-es, plainly affirm, that they believe nothing at ll of the matter.

Wherefore, ſince it hath manifeſtly appeared, hat a religious conſcience is the only true, ſolid oundation, upon which virtue can be built, give ie leave, before I conclude, to let you ſee how eceſſary ſuch a conſcience is, to conduct us in very ſtation and condition of our lives.

That a religious conſcience is neceſſary in any tation, is confeſſed even by thoſe who tell us, hat all religion was invented by cunning men, n order to keep the world in awe. For if reli-ion, by the confeſſion of its adverſaries, be ne-eſſary toward the well-governing of mankind; hen every wiſe man in power will be ſure, not nly to chuſe out, for every ſtation under him, uch perſons as are moſt likely to be kept in awe by religion, but likewiſe, to carry ſome appear-ance of it himſelf, or elſe he is a very weak poli-tician. And accordingly, in any country, where great perſons affect to be open deſpiſers of reli-gion, their counſels will be found at laſt to be fully as deſtructive to the ſtate as to the church.

It was the advice of Jethro to his ſon-in-law Moſes, to *provide able men, ſuch as fear God, men of truth, hating covetouſneſs*, and to place ſuch over the people: and Moſes, who was as wiſe a ſtateſman, at leaſt, as any in this age, thought fit to follow that advice. Great abili-ties,

ties, without the fear of God, are moſt dai
inſtruments, when they are truſted with
The laws of man have thought fit, that thc
are called to any office of truſt, ſhould be
by an oath to the faithful diſcharge of i
an oath is an appeal to God, and therefo
have no influence, except upon thoſe who
that he is, and that he is a rewarder of thc
ſeek him, and a puniſher of thoſe who
him: and, therefore, we ſee the laws thei
are forced to have recourſe to conſcience i
caſes; becauſe their penalties cannot re
arts of cunning men, who can find way
guilty of a thouſand injuſtices, without bei
covered, or at leaſt without being puniſhed.
the reaſon why we find ſo many frauds,
and corruptions, where any truſt is conferr
be no other, than that there is ſo little con
and religion left in the world; or, at leaſ
men, in their choice of inſtruments, have
ends in view, which are very different fr
ſervice of the public. Beſides, it is certain
men who profeſs to have no religion, are
zealous to bring over proſelytes, as any Pa
Fanatic can be. And therefore, if thoſe w
in ſtation high enough to be of influence
ample to others; if thoſe (I ſay) openly pr
contempt or diſbelief of religion, they w
ſure to make all their dependents of their
principles; and what ſecurity can the publ
pect from ſuch perſons, whenever their int
or their luſts come into competition with

duty? It is very poſſible for a man who hath the appearance of religion, and is a great pretender to conſcience, to be wicked and a hypocrite; but it is impoſſible for a man who openly declares againſt religion, to give any reaſonable ſecurity that he will not be falſe, and cruel, and corrupt, whenever a temptation offers, which he values more than he does the power wherewith he was truſted. And if ſuch a man doth not betray his cauſe and his maſter, it is only becauſe the temptation was not properly offered, or the profit was too ſmall, or the danger too great. And hence it is, that we find ſo little truth or juſtice among us, becauſe there are ſo very few, who, either in the ſervice of the public, or in common dealings with each other, do ever look farther than their own advantage, and how to guard themſelves againſt the laws of the country; which a man may do by favour, by ſecrecy, or by cunning, though he breaks almoſt every law of God.

Therefore, to conclude: It plainly appears, that unleſs men are guided by the advice and judgment of conſcience, founded on religion, they can give no ſecurity that they will be either good ſubjects, faithful ſervants of the public, or honeſt in their mutual dealings; ſince there is no other tie, through which the pride, or luſt, or avarice, or ambition of mankind, will not certainly break, one time or other.

Conſider what has been ſaid, *&c.*

*** In this moral eſſay, (for I can ſcarce call it a ſermon) the author inſerts ſome very ſtriking obſervations upon ſuch falſe no-

tions of honour, as are too prevalent in the world. [He particular paſſage is quoted, beginning thus, " The oth " principle, which ſome men ſet up in the place of conſcience *p.* 162. *l.* 10. and ending thus, " in order to revenge it " death of an adverſary," *p.* 163. *l.* 6.]——But you m weary of quotations: and, in excuſe of thoſe already m can only offer, that in comments upon original authors, tions are often the beſt, and perhaps the only explanatio can fully anſwer the end propoſed. I mean, that the ſpirit is ſo volatile, as not to admit of the leaſt transfuſio ordinary compoſitions, the eſſence may be extracted, and t tileſt parts diſtilled: but Swift's ſermons appeared a ch preparation of ſo extraordinary and penetrating a nature, was reſolved to ſend you as much of the ethereal ſpirit as be ſafely conveyed by the poſt. ORRERY.

SERMON IV.

ON BROTHERLY LOVE

HEB. xiii. 1.

Let brotherly love continue.

IN the early times of the goſpel, the Chri were very much diſtinguiſhed from all bodies of men, by the great and conſtant lov bore to each other; which, although it was in obedience to the frequent injunctions o Saviour and his apoſtles, yet, I confeſs, ſeemeth to have been likewiſe a natural r that very much promoted it. For the Chri then were few and ſcattered, living under cution by the Heathens round about the whoſe hands was all the civil and military p

* This ſermon is not in the firſt Dublin edition.

and there is nothing ſo apt to unite the minds and hearts of men, or to beget love and tenderneſs, as a general diſtreſs. The firſt diſſentions between Chriſtians, took their beginning from the errors and hereſies that aroſe among them; many of thoſe hereſies, ſometimes extinguiſhed, and ſometimes reviving, or ſucceeded by others, remain to this day; and, having been made inſtruments to the pride, avarice, or ambition of ill-deſigning men, by extinguiſhing brotherly love, have been the cauſe of infinite calamities, as well as corruptions of faith and manners, in the Chriſtian world.

The laſt legacy of Chriſt, was peace and mutual love; but then he foretold, that he came to ſend a ſword upon the earth. The primitive Chriſtians accepted the legacy; and their ſucceſſors, down to the preſent age, have been largely fulfilling his prophecy. But whatever the practice of mankind hath been, or ſtill continues, there is no duty more incumbent upon thoſe who profeſs the goſpel, than that of brotherly love; which, whoever could reſtore in any degree among men, would be an inſtrument of more good to human ſociety, than ever was, or will be done by all the ſtateſmen and politicians in the world.

It is upon this ſubject of brotherly love, that I intend to diſcourſe at preſent; and the method I obſerve, ſhall be as follows.

1. I will inquire into the cauſes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

2. I will lay open the ſad effects and quences which our animoſities and mutual l have produced.

3. I will uſe ſome motives and exhort that may perſuade you to embrace brotherl and continue in it.

I. I ſhall inquire into the cauſes of thi want of brotherly love among us.

This nation of ours, hath, for an hundred paſt, been infeſted by two enemies, the l and Fanatics; who, each in their turns, fi with blood and ſlaughter, and, for a time, d ed both the church and government. Th mory of theſe events, hath put all true Prot equally upon their gaurd againſt both the verſaries; who, by conſequence, do equall us. The Fanatics revile us, as too nea proaching to Popery; and the Papiſts co us, as bordering too much on Fanaticiſm. Papiſts, God be praiſed, are, by the wiſ our laws, put out of all viſible poſſibility o ing us; beſides, their religion is ſo ge abhorred, that they have no advocates or a among proteſtants to aſſiſt them. But the tics are to be conſidered in another light have had, of late years, the power, the or the cunning, to divide us among our they have endeavoured to repreſent all tho have been ſo bold as to oppoſe their erro deſigns, under the character of perſons diſa to the government; and they have ſo far ſu

ed, that, now-a-days, if a clergyman happens to preach with any zeal and vehemence againſt the ſin or danger of ſchiſm, there will not want too many in his congregation ready enough to cenſure him, as hot and high-flying, an inflamer of mens minds, an enemy to moderation, and diſloyal to his prince. This hath produced a formed and ſettled diviſion between thoſe who profeſs the ſame doctrine and diſcipline; while they who call themſelves moderate, are forced to widen their bottom, by ſacrificing their principles and their brethren to the encroachments and inſolence of diſſenters; who are therefore anſwerable, as a principal cauſe of all that hatred and animoſity now reigning among us.

Another cauſe of the great want of brotherly love, is the weakneſs and folly of too many among you of the lower ſort, who are made the tools and inſtruments of your betters, to work their deſigns, wherein you have no concern. Your numbers make you of uſe; and cunning men take the advantage, by putting words into your mouths which you do not underſtand; then they fix good or ill characters to thoſe words, as it beſt ſerves their purpoſes; and thus you are taught to love or hate, you know not what or why; you often ſuſpect your beſt friends and neareſt neighbours, even your teacher himſelf, without any reaſon, if your leaders once taught you to call him by a name, which they tell you ſignifieth ſome very bad thing.

A third cauſe of our great want of brotherly

love, ſeemeth to be, that this duty is not i
inſiſted on from the pulpit, as it ought
in ſuch times as theſe: on the contrary,
be doubted, whether doctrines are not ſon
delivered by an ungoverned zeal, a defi
diſtinguiſhed, or a view of intereſt, whi
duce quite different effects; when, upo
ſions ſet apart to return thanks to God f
public bleſſing, the time is employed in
up one part of the congregation againſt th
by repreſentations of things and perſons,
God in his mercy forgive thoſe who are gu

The laſt cauſe I ſhall mention of the
brotherly love, is that unhappy diſpoſit
wards politics among the trading people,
hath been induſtriouſly inſtilled into the
former times, the middle and lower ſort c
kind ſeldom gained or loſt by the factions
kingdom; and therefore, were little conce
them, further than as matter of talk and
ment: but now, the meaneſt dealer will e
turn the penny by the merits of his part
can repreſent his neighbour as a man of
rous principle; can bring a railing ac
againſt him, perhaps a criminal one; an
him of his livelihood, and find his own
by that, much more than if he had diſpar
neighbour's goods, or defamed him as
For ſo it happens, that inſtead of inquiri
the ſkill or honeſty of thoſe kinds of peo
manner is now to inquire into their party,
reject or encourage them accordingly;

proc

proceeding, hath made our people, in general, ſuch able politicians, that all the artifice, flattery, diſſimulation, diligence, and dexterity, in undermining each other, which the ſatirical wit of men hath charged upon courts; together with all the rage and violence, cruelty and injuſtice, which have been ever imputed to public aſſemblies; are with us (ſo polite are we grown) to be ſeen among our meaneſt traders and artificers in the greateſt perfection. All which, as it may be matter of ſome humiliation to the wiſe and mighty of this world, ſo the effects thereof may, perhaps, in time, prove very different from what, I hope in charity, were ever foreſeen or intended.

II. I will therefore now, in the ſecond place, lay open ſome of the ſad effects and conſequences which our animoſities and mutual hatred have produced.

And the firſt ill conſequence is, that our want of brotherly love hath almoſt driven out all ſenſe of religion from among us; which cannot well be otherwiſe: for ſince our Saviour laid ſo much weight upon his diſciples loving one another, that he gave it among his laſt inſtructions; and ſince the primitive Chriſtians are allowed to have chiefly propagated the faith, by the ſtrict obſervance of that inſtruction; it muſt follow, that, in proportion as brotherly love declineth, Chriſtianity will do ſo too. The little religion there is in the world, hath been obſerved to reſide chiefly among the middle and lower ſort of people,

people, who are neither tempted to pride and luxury by great riches, nor to desperate courses by extreme poverty: and truly I, upon that account, have thought it a happiness, that those who are under my immediate care are generally of that condition. But where party hath once made entrance, with all its consequences, of hatred, envy, partiality, and virulence, religion cannot long keep its hold in any state or degree of life whatsoever. For if the great men of the world have been censured in all ages for mingling too little religion with their politics, what a havock of principles must they needs make in unlearned and irregular heads? of which, indeed, the effects are already too visible and melancholy all over the kingdom.

Another ill consequence, from our want of brotherly love, is, that it increaseth the insolence of the Fanatics. And this partly ariseth from a mistaken meaning of the word *moderation*; a word which hath been much abused, and handed about for several years past. There are too many people indifferent enough to all religion; there are many others who dislike the clergy, and would have them live in poverty and dependence. Both these sorts are much commended by the Fanatics for moderate men, ready to put an end to our divisions, and to make a general union among Protestants. Many ignorant well-meaning people are deceived by these appearances, strengthened with great pretences to loyalty; and these occasions, the Fanatics lay hold on, to revile

rile the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, ınd even inſult and oppreſs the clergy, where-ver their numbers or favourers will bear them ıut; inſomuch, that one wilful refractory Fanatic ıath been able to diſturb a whole pariſh for ma-ıy years together. But the moſt moderate and avoured divines dare not own, that the word *moderation*, with reſpect to the diſſenters, can be at ıll applied to their religion, but is purely perſon-ıl or prudential. No good man repineth at the ıberty of conſcience they enjoy; and perhaps a very moderate divine may think better of their loyalty than others do; or, to ſpeak after the manner of men, may think it neceſſary, that all Proteſtants ſhould be united againſt the common enemy; or, out of diſcretion, or other reaſons beſt known to himſelf, be tender of mentioning them at all. But ſtill the errors of the diſſenters are all fixed and determined; and muſt, upon demand, be acknowledged by all the divines of our church, whether they be called, in party-phraſe, high or low, moderate or violent. And further, I believe it would be hard to find many moderate divines, who, if their opinion were aſked, whether diſſenters ſhould be truſted with power, could, according to their conſciences, anſwer in the affirmative: from whence it is plain, that all the ſtir which the Fanatics have made with this word *moderation*, was only meant to increaſe our diviſions, and widen them, ſo far as to make room for themſelves to get in between. And this is the only ſcheme they ever had (except that of deſtroying

deſtroying root and branch) for the unit Proteſtants, they ſo much talk of.

I ſhall mention but one ill conſequence which attends our want of brotherly love; hath put an end to all hoſpitality and frie all good correſpondence and commerce b mankind. There are, indeed, ſuch thi leagues and confederacies among thoſe ſame party; but ſurely, God never i ed, that men ſhould be ſo limited i choice of their friends: however, ſo it town and country, in every pariſh and ſtree paſtor is divided from his flock, the from his ſon, and the houſe often divided itſelf. Mens very natures are ſoured, an paſſions inflamed, when they meet in clubs, and ſpend their time in nothing el railing at the oppoſite ſide: thus every ma among us is encompaſſed with a million o mies of his own country, among which hi acquaintance, and friends, and kindred ſelves, are often of the number. Neith people of different parties mix together, w conſtraint, ſuſpicion, and jealouſy; watchi ry word they ſpeak, for fear of giving offe elſe falling into rudeneſs and reproaches: leaving themſelves open to the malice an ruption of informers, who were never mo merous or expert in their trade. And, as ther addition to this evil, thoſe very few, by the goodneſs and generoſity of their r do in their own hearts deſpiſe this narrow

e, of confining their friendſhip and eſteem,
ir charity and good offices, to thoſe of their
1 party, yet dare not diſcover their good incli-
ions, for fear of loſing their favour and inte-
. And others, again, whom God had form-
with mild and gentle diſpoſitions, think it ne-
ary to put a force upon their own tempers,
acting a noiſy, violent, malicious part, as a
ans to be diſtinguiſhed. Thus hath party got
better of the very genius and conſtitution of
people; ſo that whoever reads the character
he Engliſh in former ages, will hardly believe
ir preſent poſterity to be of the ſame nation or
nate.

II. I ſhall now, in the laſt place, make uſe of
ie motives and exhortations, that may per-
de you to embrace brotherly love, and to con-
ue in it. Let me apply myſelf to you of the
er ſort, and deſire you will conſider, when a-
one of you make uſe of fair and enticing
rds to draw in cuſtomers, whether you do it
their ſakes, or your own. And then, for
oſe ſakes do you think it is, that your leaders
: ſo induſtrious to put into your heads all that
ty-rage and virulence? Is it not to make you
: tools and inſtruments, by which they work out
ir own deſigns? Has this ſpirit of faction
en uſeful to any of you in your worldly con-
rns, except to thoſe who have traded in whiſ-
ring, backbiting, or informing, and wanted
ill or honeſty to thrive by fairer methods? It is

no

no buſineſs of yours to inquire, who is at th head of armies, or of councils, unleſs you ha power and ſkill to chuſe, neither of which is eve like to be your caſe: and therefore, to fill you heads with fears and hatred of perſons an things, of which it is impoſſible you can eve make a right judgment, or to ſet you at varianc with your neighbour, becauſe his thoughts ar not the ſame as yours, is not only in a very grol manner to cheat you of your time and quiet, bu likewiſe to endanger your ſouls.

Secondly, In order to reſtore brotherly love, le me earneſtly exhort you to ſtand firm in your re ligion, I mean the true religion hitherto eſta bliſhed among us; without varying in the leaſt either to Popery on the one ſide, or to Fanati ciſm on the other: and in a particular manne beware of that word *moderation*; and believe it that your neighbour is not immediately a villain a Papiſt, and a traitor, becauſe the Fanatics an their adherents will not allow him to be a mo derate man. Nay, it is very probable, that you teacher himſelf may be a loyal, pious, and abl divine, without the leaſt grain of moderation, a the word is too frequently underſtood. There fore, to ſet you right in this matter, I will lay before you the character of a truly moderate man; and then I will give you the deſcription of ſuch an one who falſely pretendeth to that title.

A man truly moderate, is ſteady in the doc- trine and diſcipline of the church, but with a due Chriſtian charity to all who diſſent from it, out

out of a principle of conſcience; the freedom of which, he thinketh, ought to be fully allowed, as long as it is not abuſed; but never truſted with power. He is ready to defend, with his life and fortune, the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and the Proteſtant eſtabliſhed faith, againſt all invaders whatſoever. He is for giving the crown its juſt prerogative, and the people their juſt liberties. He hateth no man for differing from him in political opinions; nor doth he think it a maxim infallible, That virtue ſhould always attend upon favour, and vice upon diſgrace. Theſe are ſome few lineaments in the character of a truly moderate man. Let us now compare it with the deſcription of one who uſually paſſeth under that title.

A moderate man, in the new meaning of the word, is one to whom all religion is indifferent; who, although he denominates himſelf of the church, regardeth it no more than a conventicle. He perpetually raileth at the body of the clergy, with exceptions only to a very few, who, he hopeth, and probably upon falſe grounds, are as ready to betray their rights and properties as himſelf. He thinks the power of the people can never be too great, nor that of the prince too little; and yet, this very notion he publiſheth, as his beſt argument to prove him a moſt loyal ſubject. Every opinion in government, that differeth in the leaſt from his, tends directly to Popery, ſlavery, and rebellion. Whoever lieth under the frown of power, can, in his judgment, neither have common ſenſe, common honeſty, nor reli-

gion. Lastly, his devotion consisteth in drink gibbets, confusion, and damnation; in profan idolizing the memory of one dead prince, ungratefully trampling upon the ashes of anot

By these marks, you will easily distingu a truly moderate man, from those who commonly, but very falsely, so called: while persons thus qualified, are so numer and so noisy, so full of zeal and industry gain proselytes, and spread their opinions am the people, it cannot be wondered that t should be so little brotherly love left am us.

Lastly, It would probably contribute to res some degree of brotherly love, if we would consider, that the matter of those disputes, wh inflame us to this degree, doth not, in its nature, at all concern the generality of mank Indeed, as to those who have been great gai or losers by the changes of the world, the cas different; and, to preach moderation to the l and patience to the last, would perhaps be little purpose. But what is that to the bull the people, who are not properly concerne the quarrel, although evil instruments l drawn them into it? For, if the reasonable on both sides were to confer opinions, would find neither religion, loyalty, nor inte are at all affected in this dispute. Not relig because the members of the church, on both si profess to agree in every article: not loyalty our prince; which is pretended to by one p

s much as the other, and therefore can be no ıbject for debate: not intereſt, for trade and inuſtry lie open to all; and, what is further, conerneth thoſe only who have expectations from ıe public. So that the body of the people, if ıey knew their own good, might yet live amicay together, and leave their betters to quarrel anong themſelves, who might alſo probably on come to a better temper, if they were leſs conded and ſupported by the poor deluded multude.

I have now done with my text; which I conſs to have treated in a manner more ſuited to ıe preſent times, than to the nature of the ſubct in general. That I have not been more parcular in explaining the ſeveral parts and proerties of this great duty of brotherly love, the aoſtle to the Theſſalonians will plead my excuſe. *ouching brotherly love*, (ſaith he,) *ye need not that write unto you; for ye yourſelves are taught of od to love one another.* So that nothing remains add, but our prayers to God, that he would leaſe to reſtore and continue this great duty of rotherly love or charity among us, the very ond of peace, and of all virtues.

Nov. 29. 1717.

SERMON V.

The DIFFICULTY of KNOWING ONE'S SELF.*

2 KINGS viii. 13. part of it.

And Hazael ſaid, But what, is thy ſervant a dog, that he ſhould do this great thing?

WE have a very ſignal inſtance of the deceitfulneſs of the heart, repreſented to us in the perſon of Hazael; who was ſent to the prophet Eliſha, to inquire of the Lord, concerning his maſter the King of Syria's recovery. For the man of God having told him, that the King might recover from the diſorder he was then labouring under, began to ſet and faſten his countenance upon him of a ſudden, and to break out into the moſt violent expreſſions of ſorrow, and a deep concern for it: whereupon, when Hazael, full of ſhame and confuſion, aſked, *Why weepeth my lord?* he anſwered, *Becauſe I know the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Iſrael: their ſtrong-holds wilt thou ſet on fire, and*

* The manuſcript title-page of the following ſermon being loſt, and no memorandums writ upon it, as there were upon the others, when and where it was preached, made the editor doubtful whether he ſhould print it as the Dean's or not. But its being found amongſt the ſame papers; and the hand, although writ ſomewhat better, having a great ſimilitude to the Dean's, made him willing to lay it before the public, that they might judge whether the ſtyle and manner alſo do not render it ſtill more probable to be his. *Dublin edition.*——I ſhall take no notice of this ſermon, as it is evidently not compoſed by the Dean. *Orrery.*

heir young men wilt thou ſlay with the ſword, and daſh their children, and rip up their women child. Thus much did the man of God ſay
now of him, by a light darted into his mind
heaven. But Hazael, not knowing himſelf
ll as the other did, was ſtartled and amazed
e relation, and would not believe it poſſible,
a man of his temper could ever run over in-
ch enormous inſtances of cruelty and inhu-
ty: *What*, ſays he, *is thy ſervant a dog, that uld do this great thing?*
id yet, for all this, it is highly probable, that
is then that very man he could not imagine
lf to be: for we find him, on the very next
fter his return, in a very treacherous and
al manner, murdering his own maſter, and
ing his kingdom; which was but a pro-
to the ſad tragedy which he afterwards acted
the people of Iſrael.
d now the caſe is but very little better with
men, than it was with Hazael. However
neth to paſs, they are wonderfully unac-
ted with their own temper and diſpoſition,
now very little of what paſſeth within them:
f ſo many proud, ambitious, revengeful, en-
, and ill-natured perſons that are in the
, where is there one of them, who, although
th all the ſymptoms of the vice appearing
every occaſion, can look with ſuch an im-
l eye upon himſelf, as to believe, that
mputation thrown upon him, is not al-
ier groundleſs and unfair? who, if he were

told, by men of a diſcerning ſpirit and a ſtrong conjecture, of all the evil and abſurd things which that falſe heart of his would, at one time or other, betray him into, would not believe as little, and wonder as much, as Hazael did before him? Thus, for inſtance, tell an angry perſon, that he is weak and impotent, and of no conſiſtency of mind; tell him, that ſuch or ſuch a little accident, which he may then deſpiſe, and think much below a paſſion, ſhall hereafter make him ſay and do ſeveral abſurd, indiſcreet, and miſbecoming things: he may perhaps own, that he hath a ſpirit of reſentment within him, that will not let him be impoſed on; but he fondly imagines, that he can lay a becoming reſtraint upon it when he pleaſes, although it is ever running away with him into ſome indecency or other.

Therefore, to bring down the words of my text to our preſent occaſion, I ſhall endeavour, in a further proſecution of them, to evince the great neceſſity of a nice and curious inſpection into the ſeveral receſſes of the heart; that being the ſureſt and the ſhorteſt method that a wicked man can take to reform himſelf. For, let us but ſtop the fountain, and the ſtreams will ſpend and waſte themſelves away in a very little time: but if we go about, like children, to raiſe a bank, and to ſtop the current, not taking notice, all the while, of the ſpring which continually feedeth it; when the next flood of a temptation riſeth, and breaketh in upon it, then we ſhall find, that we have begun at the wrong end of our duty, and that we

we are very little more the better for it, than if we had ſat ſtill, and made no advances at all.

But, in order to a clearer explanation of the point, I ſhall ſpeak to theſe following particulars.

1. By endeavouring to prove, from particular inſtances, that man is generally the moſt ignorant creature in the world of himſelf.

2. By inquiring into the grounds and reaſons of this ignorance.

3. And laſtly, By propoſing ſeveral advantages that do moſt aſſuredly attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourſelves.

I. Firſt then, To prove that man is generally the moſt ignorant creature in the world of himſelf:

To purſue the heart of man through all the inſtances of life, in all its ſeveral windings and turnings, and under that infinite variety of ſhapes and appearances which it putteth on, would be a difficult and almoſt impoſſible undertaking: ſo that I ſhall confine myſelf to ſuch as have a nearer reference to the preſent occaſion, and do, upon a cloſer view, ſhew themſelves through the whole buſineſs of repentance. For we all know what it is to repent; but whether he repenteth him truly of his ſins or not, who can know it?

Now, the great duty of repentance, is chiefly made up of theſe two parts; a hearty ſorrow for the follies and miſcarriages of the time paſt, and a full purpoſe and reſolution of amendment for the

the time to come. And now, to ſhew the falſeneſs of the heart in both theſe parts of repentance. And,

Firſt, As to a hearty ſorrow for the ſins and miſcarriages of the time paſt: Is there a more uſual thing than for a man to impoſe upon himſelf, by putting on a grave and demure countenance, by caſting a ſevere look into his paſt conduct, and making ſome few pious and devout reflections upon it, and then to believe that he hath repented to an excellent purpoſe, without ever letting it ſtep forth into practice, and ſhew itſelf in a holy converſation? Nay, ſome perſons do carry the deceit a little higher; who, if they can but bring themſelves to weep for their ſins, are then full of an ill-grounded confidence and ſecurity; never conſidering, that all this may prove to be no more than the very garb and outward dreſs of a contrite heart, which another heart, as hard as the nether milſtone, may as well put on. For tears and ſighs, however in ſome perſons they may be decent and commendable expreſſions of a godly ſorrow, are neither neceſſary, nor infallible ſigns of a true and unfeigned repentance: not neceſſary, becauſe, ſometimes, and in ſome perſons, the inward grief and anguiſh of the mind may be too big to be expreſſed by ſo little a thing as a tear; and then it turneth its edge inwards upon the mind; and, like thoſe wounds of the body which bleed inwardly, it generally proves the moſt fatal and dangerous to the whole body of ſin; not infallible, becauſe

a very

a very ſmall portion of ſorrow may make ſome tender diſpoſitions melt, and break out into tears; or a man may perhaps weep at parting with his ſins, as he would to bid the laſt farewel to an old friend, that he was ſure never to ſee again.

But there is ſtill a more pleaſant cheat in this affair, that when we find a deadneſs, and a ſtrange kind of unaptneſs and indiſpoſition to all impreſſions of religion, and that we cannot be as truly ſorry for our ſins as we ſhould be; we then pretend to be ſorry that we are not more ſorry for them; which is not leſs abſurd and irrational, than that a man ſhould pretend to be very angry at a thing, becauſe he did not know how to be angry at all.

But, after all, what is wanting in this part of repentance, we expect to make it up in the next; and to that purpoſe, we put on a reſolution of amendment, which we take to be as firm as a houſe built upon a rock; ſo that, let the floods ariſe, and the winds blow, and the ſtreams beat vehemently upon it, nothing ſhall ſhake it into ruin and diſorder. We doubt not, upon the ſtrength of this reſolve, to ſtand faſt and unmoved amidſt the ſtorm of a temptation; and do firmly believe, at the time we make it, that nothing in the world will ever be able to make us commit thoſe ſins over again, which we have ſo firmly reſolved againſt.

Thus, many a time, have we come to the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, with a full purpoſe of amendment, and with as full a perſuaſion of putting

putting that ſame purpoſe into practice; and yet, have we not all as often broke that good purpoſe, and falſified that ſame perſuaſion, by ſtarting aſide, like a broken bow, into thoſe very ſins which we then ſo ſolemnly and ſo confidently declared againſt?

Whereas, had but any other perſon entered with us, into a vow, ſo ſolemn, that he had taken the holy ſacrament upon it, I believe, had he but once deceived us, by breaking in upon the vow, we ſhould hardly, ever after, be prevailed upon to truſt that man again; although we ſtill continue to truſt our own hearts, againſt reaſon, and againſt experience.

This, indeed, is a dangerous deceit enough; and will, of courſe, betray all thoſe well-meaning perſons into ſin and folly, who are apt to take religion for a much eaſier thing than it is. But this is not the only miſtake we are apt to run into: we do not only think, ſometimes, that we can do more than we can do, but ſometimes that we are incapable of doing leſs: An error of another kind, indeed, but not leſs dangerous, ariſing from a diffidence and falſe humility; for, how much a wicked man can do, in the buſineſs of religion, if he would but do his beſt, is very often more than he can tell.

Thus, nothing is more common, than to ſee a wicked man running headlong into ſin and folly, againſt his reaſon, againſt his religion, and againſt his God. Tell him, that what he is going to do, will be an infinite diſparagement to his underſtanding,

ing, which, at another time, he ſetteth no
value upon; tell him, that it will blacken
putation, which he had rather die for, than
tell him, that the pleaſure of the ſin is ſhort
ranſient, and leaveth a vexatious kind of a
behind it, which will very hardly be drawn
; tell him, that this is one of thoſe things
hich God will, moſt ſurely, bring him to
nent, which he pretendeth to believe, with
aſſurance and perſuaſion: and yet, for all
he ſhutteth his eyes againſt all conviction,
uſheth into the ſin, like a horſe into the
; as if he had nothing left to do, but, like
child, to wink hard, and to think to e-
a certain and an infinite miſchief, only by
vouring not to ſee it.

id now, to ſhew that the heart hath given
alſe report of the temptation, we may learn
this, that the ſame weak man would reſiſt
naſter the ſame powerful temptation, upon
derations, of infinitely leſs value than thoſe
religion offereth; nay, ſuch vile conſidera-
, that the grace of God cannot, without
hemy, be ſuppoſed to add any manner of
and efficacy to them. Thus, for inſtance,
uld be a hard matter to dreſs up a ſin in
ſoft and tempting circumſtances, that a truly
ous man would not reſiſt, for a conſiderable
of money; when neither the hopes of hea-
nor the fears of hell, could make an impreſ-
upon him before. But, can any thing be a
indication of the deceitfulneſs of the heart,
than

than thus to ſhew more courage, reſolutio activity, in an ill cauſe, than it doth in one? and to exert itſelf to better purpoſe, it is to ſerve its own pride, or luſt, or reve any other paſſion, than when it is to ſerv upon the motives of the goſpel, and upon arguments that have ever been made uſe bring men over to religion and a good life thus, having ſhewn that a man is wonc apt to deceive and impoſe upon himſelf, i ing through the ſeveral ſtages of that gre repentance; I proceed, now, in the

II. Second place, To enquire into the and reaſons of this ignorance, and to ſhew, it cometh to paſs, that a man, the only c in the world that can reflect, and look in ſelf, ſhould know ſo little of what paſſeth in him, and be ſo very much unacquainte with the ſtanding diſpoſitions and comple his own heart. The prime reaſon of it. cauſe we ſo very ſeldom converſe with ou and take ſo little notice of what paſſeth us. For, a man can no more know h heart, than he can know his own face, an way than by reflection: he may as well t every feature of the ſmaller portions of h without the help of a looking-glaſs, as he all the inward bents and tendencies of th thoſe ſtanding features and lineaments of ward man, and know all the various chan this is liable to, from cuſtom, from paſſi

from opinion, without a very frequent uſe of looking within himſelf.

For our paſſions and inclinations are not always upon the wing, and always moving towards their reſpective objects; but retire, now and then, into the more dark and hidden receſſes of the heart, where they ly concealed for a while, until a freſh occaſion calls them forth again: ſo that, not every tranſient, oblique glance upon the mind, can bring a man into a thorough knowledge of all its ſtrengths and weakneſſes; for a man may ſometimes turn the eye of the mind inward upon itſelf, as he may behold his natural face in a glaſs, and go away, and ſtraight forget what manner of man he was. But a man muſt rather ſit down, and unravel every action of the paſt day, into all its circumſtances and particularities, and obſerve how every little thing moved and affected him, and what manner of impreſſion it made upon his heart: this done, with that frequency and carefulneſs which the importance of the duty doth require, would, in a ſhort time, bring him into a near and intimate acquaintance with himſelf.

But when men, inſtead of this, do paſs away months and years, in a perfect ſlumber of the mind, without once awaking it, it is no wonder, they ſhould be ſo very ignorant of themſelves, and know very little more of what paſſeth within them, than the very beaſts which periſh. But, here, it may not be amiſs to enquire into the rea-

ſons, why moſt men have ſo little converſation with themſelves.

And, 1*ſt*, Becauſe this reflection is a work and labour of the mind, and cannot be performed, without ſome pain and difficulty. For, before a man can reflect upon himſelf, and look into his heart with a ſteady eye, he muſt contract his ſight, and collect all his ſcattered and roving thoughts into ſome order and compaſs, that he may be able to take a clear and diſtinct view of them; he muſt retire from the world for a while, and be unattentive to all impreſſions of ſenſe: and how hard and painful a thing muſt it needs be, to a man of paſſion and infirmity, amidſt ſuch a crowd of objects, that are continually ſtriking upon the ſenſe, and ſoliciting the affections, not to be moved and interrupted by one or other of them! But,

2*dly*, Another reaſon why we ſo ſeldom converſe with ourſelves, is, becauſe the buſineſs of the world taketh up all our time, and leaveth us no portion of it to ſpend upon this great work and labour of the mind. Thus, twelve or fourteen years paſs away, before we can well diſcern good from evil; and, of the reſt, ſo much goeth away in ſleep, ſo much in the ordinary buſineſs of life, and ſo much in the proper buſineſs of our callings, that we have none to lay out upon the more ſerious and religious employments. Every man's life is an imperfect ſort of a circle, which he repeateth and runneth over every day; he hath a ſet of thoughts, deſires, and inclinations, which

return

return upon him, in their proper time and order, and will very hardly be laid aſide, to make room for any thing new and uncommon: ſo that, call upon him when you pleaſe, to ſet about the ſtudy of his own heart, and you are ſure to find him pre-engaged; either he hath ſome buſineſs to do, or ſome diverſion to take, ſome acquaintance that he muſt viſit, or ſome company that he muſt entertain, or ſome croſs accident hath put him out of humour, and unfitted him for ſuch a grave employment. And thus it comes to paſs, that a man can never find leiſure to look into himſelf, becauſe, he doth not ſet apart ſome portion of the day for that very purpoſe, but fooliſhly deferreth it from one day to another, until his glaſs is almoſt run out, and he is called upon to give a miſerable account of himſelf in the other world. But,

3*dly*, Another reaſon why a man doth not more frequently converſe with himſelf, is, becauſe ſuch a converſation with his own heart, may diſcover ſome vice, or ſome infirmity, lurking within him, which he is very unwilling to believe himſelf guilty of. For, can there be a more ungrateful thing to a man, than to find, that, upon a nearer view, he is not that perſon he took himſelf to be? that he hath neither the courage, nor the honeſty, nor the piety, nor the humility, that he dreamed he had? that a very little pain, for inſtance, putteth him out of patience, and as little pleaſure, ſofteneth and diſarmeth him into eaſe and wantonneſs? that he hath been at more pains, and

labour, and toil, if he revenged of an enemy, than to oblige the best friend he hath in the world? that he cannot bring himself to say his prayers, without a great deal of reluctancy; and, when he doth say them, the spirit and fervour of devotion evaporate in a very short time, and he can scarcely hold out a prayer of ten lines, without a number of idle and impertinent, if not vain and wicked thoughts coming into his head? These are very unwelcome discoveries, that a man may make of himself; so that, it is no wonder, that every one, who is already furnished with a good opinion of himself, should rather study how to run away from it, than how to converse with his own heart.

But further, If a man were both able and willing to retire into his own heart, and to set apart some portion of the day for that very purpose; yet he is still disabled from passing a fair and impartial judgment upon himself, by several difficulties, arising partly from prejudice and prepossession, partly from the lower appetites and inclinations. And,

1st, That the business of prepossession may lead and betray a man into a false judgment of his own heart. For, we may observe, that the first opinion we take up of any thing, or of any person, doth generally stick close to us; the nature of the mind being such, that it cannot but desire, and, consequently, endeavour, to have some certain principles to go upon, something fixed and immoveable, whereon it may rest and support itself.

ſelf. And hence it cometh to paſs, that ſome perſons are, with ſo much difficulty, brought to think well of a man, they have once entertained an ill opinion of; and, perhaps, that, too, for a very abſurd and unwarrantable reaſon. But, how much more difficult, then, muſt it be, for a man who taketh up a fond opinion of his own heart, long before he hath either years, or ſenſe enough, to underſtand it, either to be perſuaded out of it by himſelf, whom he loveth ſo well, or by another, whoſe intereſt or diverſion it may be, to make him aſhamed of himſelf? Then,

2*dly*, As to the difficulties ariſing from the inferior appetites and inclinations, let any man look into his own heart, and obſerve, in how different a light, and under what different complexions, any two ſins, of equal turpitude and malignity, do appear to him, if he hath but a ſtrong inclination to the one, and none at all to the other. That which he hath an inclination to, is always dreſſed up in all the falſe beauty that a fond and buſy imagination can give it; the other appeareth naked and deformed, and in all the true circumſtances of folly and diſhonour. Thus, ſtealing is a vice that few gentlemen are inclined to; and they juſtly think it below the dignity of a man, to ſtoop to ſo baſe and low a ſin: but no principle of honour, no workings of the mind and conſcience, not the ſtill voice of mercy, not the dreadful call of judgment, nor any conſiderations whatever, can put a ſtop to that violence and oppreſſion, that pride and ambition, that re-

velling and wantonneſs, which we every day meet with in the world. Nay, it is eaſy to obſerve very different thoughts in a man, of the ſin that he is moſt fond of, according to the different ebbs and flows of his inclination to it. For, as ſoon as the appetite is alarmed, and ſeizeth upon the heart, a little cloud gathereth about the head, and ſpreadeth a kind of darkneſs over the face of the ſoul, whereby it is hindered from taking a clear and diſtinct view of things: but, no ſooner is the appetite tired and ſatiated, but the ſame cloud paſſeth away like a ſhadow; and, a new light ſpringing up in the mind, of a ſudden, the man ſeeth much more, both of the folly and of the danger of the ſin, than he did before.

And thus, having done with the ſeveral reaſons, why man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himſelf, is ſo very ignorant of what paſſeth within him, and ſo much unacquainted with the ſtanding diſpoſitions and complexions of his own heart; I proceed now, in the

III. Third and laſt place, to lay down ſeveral advantages that do *moſt aſſuredly* attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourſelves. And,

1. One great advantage is, that it tendeth very much to mortify and humble a man into a modeſt and low opinion of himſelf. For, let a man take a nice and curious inſpection into all the ſeveral regions of the heart, and obſerve every thing irregular

gular and amiſs within him; for inſtance, how ırrow and ſhort-ſighted a thing is the under- ınding! upon how little reaſon do we take up ı opinion, and upon how much leſs ſometimes) we lay it down again! how weak and falſe ound do we often walk upon, with the biggeſt ɔnfidence and aſſurance; and how tremulous ıd doubtful we are very often, where no doubt to be made! Again, how wild and impertinent, how buſy and incoherent a thing is the nagination, even in the beſt and wiſeſt men; ıſomuch, that every man may be ſaid to be mad, ut every man doth not ſhew it! Then, as to ıe paſſions, how noiſy, how turbulent, and how umultuous are they! how eaſily are they ſtirred nd ſet a-going; how eager and hot in the purıit, and what ſtrange diſorder and confuſion do hey throw a man into, ſo that he can neither ıink, nor ſpeak, nor act, as he ſhould do, while e is under the dominion of any one of them.

Thus, let every man look, with a ſevere and mpartial eye, into all the diſtinct regions of the eart; and, no doubt, ſeveral deformities and iregularities, that he never thought of, will open nd diſcloſe themſelves upon ſo near a view; nd rather make the man aſhamed of himſelf, han proud.

2. A due improvement in the knowledge of urſelves, doth certainly ſecure us from the ſly nd inſinuating aſſaults of flattery. There is not n the world a baſer, and more hateful thing, han flattery. It proceedeth from ſo much falſe-

neſs

neſs and inſincerity in the man that giveth it, and often diſcovereth ſo much weakneſs and folly in the man that taketh it, that it is hard to tell which of the two is moſt to be blamed. Every man of common ſenſe can demonſtrate in ſpeculation, and may be fully convinced, that all the praiſes and commendations of the whole world, can add no more to the real and intrinſic value of a man, than they can add to his ſtature. And yet, for all this, men of the beſt ſenſe and piety, when they come down to the practice, cannot forbear thinking much better of themſelves, when they have the good fortune to be ſpoken well of by other perſons.

But, the meaning of this abſurd proceeding, ſeemeth to be no other than this: There are few men that have ſo intimate an acquaintance with their own hearts, as to know their own real worth, and how to ſet a juſt rate upon themſelves; and therefore, they do not know, but that he who praiſes them moſt, may be moſt in the right of it. For, no doubt, if a man were ignorant of the true value of a thing he loved as well as himſelf, he would meaſure the worth of it according to the eſteem of him who biddeth moſt for it, rather than of him that biddeth leſs.

Therefore, the moſt infallible way to diſentangle a man from the ſnares of flattery, is, to conſult and ſtudy his own heart; for, whoever does that well, will hardly be ſo abſurd, as to take another man's word, before his own ſenſe and experience.

3. Another

3. Another advantage from this kind of ſtudy, is this, that it teacheth a man how to behave himſelf patiently, when he has the ill fortune to be cenſured and abuſed by other people. For, a man who is thoroughly acquainted with his own heart, doth already know much more evil of himſelf, than any body elſe can tell him; and when any one ſpeaketh ill of him, he rather thanketh God, that he can ſay no worſe. For, could his enemy but look into the dark and hidden receſſes of the heart, he conſidereth what a number of impure thoughts he might there ſee brooding and hovering, like a dark cloud, upon the face of the ſoul; that there he might take a proſpect of the fancy, and view it acting over the ſeveral ſcenes of pride, of ambition, of envy, of luſt, and revenge; that there he might tell how often a vicious inclination hath been reſtrained, for no other reaſon, but juſt to ſave the man's credit or intereſt in the world; and how many unbecoming ingredients have entered into the compoſition of his beſt actions. And now, what man in the whole world would be able to bear ſo ſevere a teſt, to have every thought and inward motion of the heart laid open, and expoſed to the view of his enemies? But,

4. And *laſtly*, Another advantage of this kind, is, that it maketh men leſs ſevere upon other peoples faults, and leſs buſy and induſtrious in ſpreading them. For, a man employed at home, inſpecting into his own failings, hath not leiſure enough to take notice of every little ſpot and blemiſh

blemish that lieth scattered upon others: Or, if he cannot escape the sight of them, he always passes the most easy and favourable construction upon them. Thus, for instance, does the ill he knoweth of a man proceed from an unhappy temper and constitution of body? he then considereth with himself, how hard a thing it is, not to be borne down with the current of the blood and spirits; and accordingly, layeth some part of the blame upon the weakness of human nature; for he hath felt the force and rapidity of it within his own breast; though, perhaps, in another instance, he remembereth how it rageth and swelleth by opposition; and though it may be restrained, or diverted for a while, yet it can hardly ever be totally subdued.

Or, hath the man sinned out of custom; he then, from his own experience, traceth a habit into the very first rise and imperfect beginnings of it; and can tell, by how slow and insensible advances it creepeth upon the heart; how it worketh itself, by degrees, into the very frame and texture of it, and so passeth into a second nature; and, consequently, he hath a just sense of the great difficulty for him to learn to do good, who hath been long accustomed to do evil.

Or, *lastly*, Hath a false opinion betrayed him into a sin? he then calleth to mind what wrong apprehensions he hath had of some things himself; how many opinions that he once made no doubt of, he hath, upon a stricter examination, found to be doubtful and uncertain; how many more

ore to be unreaſonable and abſurd. He know-
h, further, that there are a great many more
)inions that he hath never yet examined into at
l, and which, however, he ſtill believeth; for
) other reaſon, but becauſe he hath believed
iem ſo long already, without a reaſon. Thus,
pon every occaſion, a man intimately acquaint-
l with himſelf, conſulteth his own heart, and
iaketh every man's caſe to be his own, (and ſo
uts the moſt favourable interpretation upon it.)
et every man, therefore, look into his own
eart, before he beginneth to abuſe the reputa-
on of another; and then he will hardly be ſo
)ſurd, as to throw a dart that will ſo certainly re-
)und, and wound himſelf. And thus, through the
hole courſe of his converſation, let him keep an
ye upon that one great and comprehenſive rule
f Chriſtian duty, on which hangeth not only the
iw and the prophets, but the very life and ſpi-
t of the goſpel too; *Whatſoever ye would that*
ien ſhould do unto you, do ye even ſo unto them.
Vhich rule, that we may all duly obſerve, by
irowing aſide all ſcandal and detraction, all
)ite and rancour, all rudeneſs and contempt, all
ige and violence, and whatever tendeth to make
onverſation and commerce either uneaſy or
roubleſome, may the God of peace grant, for
eſus Chriſt's ſake, *&c.*

Conſider what hath been ſaid, and the Lord
give you a right underſtanding in all things. To
whom, with the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, be all
honour and glory, now and for ever.

A PRO-

A

PROPOSAL

Humbly offered to the PARLIAMENT, for the more effectual preventing the further growth of POPERY.

With the Deſcription and Uſe of the ECCLESIASTICAL THERMOMETER.

Very proper for all Families.

Inſani ſanus nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quam ſatis eſt, virtutem ſi petat ipſum.
HOR.

HAving, with great ſorrow of heart, obſerved the increaſe of Popery among us, of late years, and how ineffectual the penal laws and ſtatutes of this realm have been, for near forty years laſt paſt, towards reclaiming that blind and deluded people from their errors, notwithſtanding the good intentions of the legiſlators, and the *pious and unwearied labours* of the many learned divines of the eſtabliſhed church, who have preached to them *without ceaſing*, although hitherto without ſucceſs:

Having alſo remarked, in his Grace's ſpeech to both houſes of parliament, moſt kind offers of his Grace's good offices, towards obtaining ſuch further laws as ſhall be thought neceſſary to-

wards

wards bringing home the ſaid wandering ſheep into the fold of the church; as alſo, a good diſpoſition in the parliament to join in the *laudable* work; towards which, every good Proteſtant ought to contribute *at leaſt his advice:* I think it a proper time to lay before the public, a ſcheme, which was writ ſome years ſince, and laid by, to be ready on a fit occaſion.

That whereas the ſeveral penal laws and ſtatutes now in being againſt Papiſts, have been found ineffectual, and rather tend to confirm, than reclaim men from their errors; as, calling a man *coward*, is a ready way to make him fight; it is humbly propoſed,

I. That the ſaid penal laws and ſtatutes againſt Papiſts, except the law of *Gavelkind*, and that which diſqualifies them for places, be repealed, abrogated, annulled, deſtroyed, and obliterated, to all intents and purpoſes.

II. That, in the room of the ſaid penal laws and ſtatutes, all eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction be taken from out of the hands of the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, and the ſame be veſted in the ſeveral Popiſh archbiſhops, biſhops, deans, and archdeacons; nevertheleſs, ſo as ſuch juriſdiction be exerciſed over perſons of the Popiſh religion only.

III. That a Popiſh prieſt ſhall be ſettled, by law, in each and every pariſh in Ireland.

IV. That the ſaid Popiſh prieſt ſhall, on taking the oath of allegiance to his Majeſty, be intitled to a tenth part, or tithe, of all things titheable in Ireland, belonging to the Papiſts within

their reſpective pariſhes; yet ſo as ſuch gr of tithes, to ſuch Popiſh prieſts, ſhall not be c ſtrued, *in law or equity*, to hinder the Proteſ clergyman of ſuch pariſh from receiving and lecting his tithes, in *like manner* as he does preſent.

V. That, in caſe of detention or ſubtractio tithes by any Papiſt, the pariſh-prieſt do have remedy at law, in any of his Majeſty's courts, the ſame *manner as now practiſed by the clerg the eſtabliſhed church;* together with all other cleſiaſtical dues. And, for their further di very, to vex their people at law, it might no amiſs, to oblige the Solicitor-General, or ſ other able King's counſel, to give his advic aſſiſtance to ſuch prieſts *gratis*, for which might receive a ſalary out of the *barrack f military contingencies*, or *concordatum;* having ſerved the exceedings there better paid tha the army, or any other branch of the eſtab ment; and I would have no delay in paymen a matter of this importance.

VI. That the archbiſhops and biſhops power to viſit the inferior clergy, and to e proxies, exhibits, and all other perquiſites i in *Popiſh* and *Proteſtant countries*.

VII. That the convocation having been fo by long experience, to be hurtful to *true reli* be for ever hereafter aboliſhed among P ſtants.

VIII. That, in the room thereof, the P archbiſhops, biſhops, prieſts, deans, archdea

and proctors, have liberty to aſſemble themſelves in convocation, and be impowered to make ſuch canons as they ſhall think proper, for the government of the Papiſts in Ireland.

IX. And, that the ſecular arm being neceſſary to enforce obedience to eccleſiaſtical cenſure, the ſheriffs, conſtables, and other officers, be commanded to execute the decrees and ſentences of the ſaid Popiſh convocation, with ſecrecy and diſpatch; or, in lieu thereof, they may be at liberty to erect an inquiſition, with proper officers of their own.

X. That, as Papiſts declare themſelves converts to the eſtabliſhed church, all *ſpiritual power* over them ſhall ceaſe.

XI. That as ſoon as any whole pariſh ſhall renounce the Popiſh religion, the prieſt of ſuch pariſh ſhall, for his good ſervices, have a penſion of 200 l. *per annum* ſettled on him for life; and that he be, from ſuch time, exempt from preaching and praying, and other duties of his function, in like manner as *Proteſtant divines*, with equal incomes, are at preſent.

XII. That each biſhop, ſo ſoon as his dioceſe ſhall become Proteſtants, be called *My Lord*, and have a penſion of two thouſand pounds *per annum*, during life.

XIII. That when a whole province ſhall be reclaimed, the archbiſhop ſhall be called *His Grace*, and have a penſion of three thouſand pounds *per annum*, during life, and be admitted a member of his Majeſty's *moſt honourable privy council*.

The good conſequences of this ſcheme (w will execute itſelf, without murmurings ag the government) are very viſible. I ſhall r tion a few of the moſt obvious.

I. The giving the prieſt a right to the t would produce law-ſuits and wrangles; his verence, being intitled to a certain income a events, would conſider himſelf as a legal inc bent, and *behave accordingly*, and apply hir more to fleecing than feeding his flock. Hi ceſſary attendance on the courts of juſtice, w leave his people without a *ſpiritual guide;* which means, Proteſtant curates, who hav ſuits about tithes, would be furniſhed with per opportunities for making converts; whi very much wanted.

II. The erecting a ſpiritual juriſdiction amc them, would, *in all probability*, drive as many of that communion, as a *due execution* of ſuch j diction hath hitherto drove from amongſt ourſe

III. An *inquiſition* would ſtill be a further provement, and, moſt certainly, would exp the converſion of Papiſts.

I know, it may be objected to this ſcheme, with ſome ſhew of reaſon, That, ſhould the Pc princes abroad purſue the ſame methods, regard to their Proteſtant ſubjects, the Protei intereſt in Europe would thereby be conſider weakened. But, as we have no reaſon to ſu Popiſh councils will ever produce ſo much deration, I think the objection ought to have little weight.

A

A due execution of this ſcheme, will ſoon produce many converts from Popery: nevertheleſs, to the end it may be known, when they ſhall be of the true *church*, I have ordered a large parcel of eccleſiaſtical, or church *thermometers*, to be made, one of which is to be hung up in each pariſh-church; the deſcription and uſe of which, take as follows, in the words of the ingenious Iſaac Bickerſtaff, Eſq;

THE church-thermometer, which I am now to treat of, is ſuppoſed to have been invented in the reign of Henry VIII. about the time when that religious prince put ſome to death, for owning the Pope's ſupremacy, and others for denying tranſubſtantiation. I do not find, however, any great uſe made of this inſtrument, till it fell into the hand of a learned and vigilant prieſt, or miniſter, (for he frequently wrote himſelf both the one and the other,) who was ſome time vicar of Bray. This gentleman lived in his vicarage to a good old age; and, after having ſeen ſeveral ſucceſſions of his neighbouring clergy, either burnt or baniſhed, departed this life, with the ſatisfaction of having never deſerted his flock, and died vicar of Bray. As this glaſs was firſt deſigned to calculate the different degrees of heat in religion, as it raged in Popery, or as it cooled and grew temperate in the reformation, it was marked at ſeveral diſtances, after the manner our ordinary thermometer is to this day, *viz. Extreme*

hot, Sultry hot, Very hot, Hot, Warm, Temperate, Cold, Juſt freezing, Froſt, Hard froſt, Great froſt, Extreme cold.

It is well known, that Torricellius, the inventor of the common weather-glaſs, made the experiment of a long tube, which held thirty-two foot of water; and that a more modern virtuoſo, finding ſuch a machine altogether unwieldy, and uſeleſs, and conſidering, that thirty-two inches of quickſilver weighed as much as ſo many foot of water, in a tube of the ſame circumference, invented that ſizeable inſtrument which is now in uſe. After this manner, that I might adapt the thermometer I am now ſpeaking of, to the preſent conſtitution of our church, as divided into *High* and *Low*, I have made ſome neceſſary variations, both in the tube, and the fluid it contains. In the firſt place, I ordered a tube to be caſt, in a planetary hour, and took care to ſeal it hermetically, when the ſun was in conjunction with Saturn. I then took the proper precautions about the fluid, which is a compound of two different liquors; one of them a ſpirit, drawn out of a ſtrong heady wine; the other, a particular ſort of rock-water, colder than ice, and clearer than chryſtal. The ſpirit is of a red, fiery colour; and ſo very apt to ferment, that, unleſs it be mingled with a proportion of the water, or pent up very cloſe, it will burſt the veſſel that holds it, and fly up in fume and ſmoke. The water, on the contrary, is of ſuch a ſubtile, piercing cold, that,

nleſs it be mingled with a proportion of
rits, it will ſink almoſt through every thing
it into; and ſeems to be of the ſame nature
water mentioned by Quintus Curtius,
ſays the hiſtorian, could be contained in
g but in the hoof, or (as the Oxford ma-
it has it) the ſcull of an aſs. The thermo-
is marked, according to the following fi-
which I ſet down at length, not only to
y reader a clear idea of it, but alſo to fill
paper.

Ignorance.
Perſecution.
Wrath.
Zeal.
CHURCH.
Moderation.
Lukewarmneſs.
Infidelity.
Ignorance.

reader will obſerve, that the church is pla-
the middle point of the glaſs, between
id *Moderation*, the ſituation in which ſhe
flouriſhes, and in which, every good Eng-
n wiſhes her, who is a friend to the conſti-
of his country. However, when it mounts
', it is not amiſs; and, when it ſinks to
ation, it is ſtill in admirable temper. The
f it is, that, when once it begins to riſe,
ſtill an inclination to aſcend, inſomuch,
that

that it is apt to climb from *Zeal* to *Wrath*, and from *Wrath* to *Perſecution*, which often ends in *Ignorance*, and very often proceeds from it. In the ſame manner, it frequently takes its progreſs through the lower half of the glaſs; and, when it has a tendency to fall, will gradually deſcend from *Moderation* to *Lukewarmneſs*, and from *Lukewarmneſs* to *Infidelity*, which very often terminates in *Ignorance*, and always proceeds from it.

It is a common obſervation, that the ordinary thermometer will be affected by the breathing of people who are in the room where it ſtands; and, indeed, it is almoſt incredible to conceive, how the glaſs I am now deſcribing, will fall, by the breath of the multitude, crying *Popery*; or, on the contrary, how it will riſe, when the ſame multitude (as it ſometimes happens) cry out, in the ſame breath, *The church is in danger*.

As ſoon as I had finiſhed this my glaſs, and adjuſted it to the above-mentioned ſcale of religion, that I might make proper experiments with it, I carried it, under my cloak, to ſeveral coffee-houſes, and other places of reſort, about this great city. At St. James's coffee-houſe, the liquor ſtood at *Moderation*; but, at Will's, to my extreme ſurpriſe, it ſubſided to the very loweſt mark of the glaſs. At the Grecian, it mounted but juſt one point higher; at the Rainbow, it ſtill aſcended two degrees: Child's fetched it up to *Zeal*, and other adjacent coffee-houſes to *Wrath*.

It fell, in the lower half of the glaſs, as I went further into the city, till, at length, it ſettled at *Moderation*;

tion; where it continued, all the time I
out the 'Change, as alſo whilſt I paſſed by
k. And here I cannot but take notice,
rough the whole courſe of my remarks, I
ſerved my glaſs to riſe, at the ſame time
ſtocks did.
mplete the experiment, I prevailed upon
of mine, who works under me in the
iences, to make a progreſs, with my glaſs,
the whole iſland of Great-Britain; and,
return, to preſent me with a regiſter of
rvations. I gueſſed, before-hand, at the
f ſeveral places he paſſed through, by the
rs they have had, time out of mind.
hat facetious divine, Dr. Fuller, ſpeaking
town of Banbury, near a hundred years
ls us, it was a place famous for cakes and
hich I find, by my glaſs, is true, to this
to the latter part of his deſcription;
I muſt confeſs, it is not in the ſame re-
for cakes, that it was in the time of that
author; and thus of other places. In
have now by me, digeſted in an alpha-
rder, all the counties, corporations, and
s, in Great-Britain, with their reſpective
, as they ſtand related in my thermometer.
I ſhall keep to myſelf; becauſe, I would,
eans, do any thing that may ſeem to in-
any enſuing election.
oint of doctrine which I would propagate,
ny invention, is the ſame which was, long
vanced by that able teacher Horace, out

of

of whom I have taken my text for this diſcourſe. We ſhould be careful not to overſhoot ourſelves, in the purſuits even of virtue. Whether *Zeal* or *Moderation* be the point we aim at, let us keep fire out of the one, and froſt out of the other. But, alas! the world is too wiſe to want ſuch a precaution. The terms, *High-church*, and *Low-church*, as commonly uſed, do not ſo much denote a principle, as they diſtinguiſh a party. They are like words of battle, that have nothing to do with their original ſignification, but are only given out to keep a body of men together, and to let them know friends from enemies.

I muſt confeſs, I have conſidered, with ſome attention, the influence which the opinions of theſe great national ſects have upon their practice; and do look upon it as one of the unaccountable things of our times, that multitudes of honeſt gentlemen, who entirely agree in their lives, ſhould take it in their heads to differ in their religion.

I ſhall conclude this paper, with an account of a conference, which happened between a very excellent divine (whoſe doctrine was eaſy, and, formerly, much reſpected) and a lawyer.

AND behold, a certain lawyer ſtood up, and tempted him, ſaying, Maſter, what ſhall I do to inherit eternal life?

He ſaid unto him, What is written in the law? how readeſt thou?

And he anſwering, ſaid, Thou ſhalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and with all thy

y ſoul, and with all thy ſtrength, and with all
y mind; and thy neighbour as thyſelf.
And he ſaid unto him, Thou haſt anſwered
ht: this do, and thou ſhalt live.
But he, willing to juſtify himſelf, ſaid unto Je-
, And who is my neighbour?
And Jeſus anſwering, ſaid, A certain man went
wn from Jeruſalem to Jericho, and fell among
eves, which ſtripped him of his raiment, and
ounded *him*, and departed, leaving *him* half dead.
And, by chance, there came down a certain
ieſt that way; and, when he ſaw him, he paſſ-
by on the other ſide.
And likewiſe a Levite, when he was at the
ace, came and looked on *him*, and paſſed by on
e other ſide.
But a certain Samaritan, as he journeyed, came
here he was: and, when he ſaw him, he had
mpaſſion on him,
And went to him, and bound up his wounds, pour-
g in oil and wine; and ſet him on his own beaſt,
id brought him to an inn, and took care of him.
And on the morrow, when he departed, he
ok out two pence, and gave them to the hoſt,
id ſaid unto him, Take care of him; and what-
ever thou ſpendeſt more, when I come again, I
ill repay thee.
Which, now, of theſe three, thinkeſt thou, was
eighbour unto him that fell among the thieves?
And he ſaid, He that ſhewed mercy on him.
Then ſaid Jeſus unto him, Go, and do thou like-
viſe. *Luke* x. 25 *to* 38.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

THERE is now in the preſs, a propoſal for raiſing a fund towards paying the national debt, by the following means. The author would have commiſſioners appointed, to ſearch all the public and private libraries, bookſellers ſhops, and warehouſes, in this kingdom, for ſuch books as are of no uſe to the owner, or to the public, *viz.* all comments on the holy ſcriptures, whether called ſermons, creeds, bodies of divinity, tomes of caſuiſtry, vindications, confutations, eſſays, anſwers, replies, rejoinders, or ſur-rejoinders; together with all other learned treatiſes, and books of divinity, of what denomination or claſs ſoever; as alſo, all comments on the laws of the land; ſuch as reports, law-caſes, decrees, guides for attorneys and young clerks; and, in fine, all the books now in being in this kingdom, (whether of divinity, law, phyſic, metaphyſics, logic, or politics,) except the pure text of the holy ſcriptures, the naked text of the laws, a few books of morality, poetry, muſic, architecture, agriculture, mathematics, merchandiſe, and hiſtory; the author would have the aforeſaid uſeleſs books carried to the ſeveral paper-mills, there to be wrought into white paper; which, to prevent damage or complaints, he would have performed by the commentators, critics, popular preachers, apothecaries, learned lawyers, attorneys, ſolicitors, logicians, phyſicians, almanack-makers, and others of the like wrong turn of mind; the ſaid paper to be ſold, and the produce applied to diſcharge the national debt. What ſhould remain of the ſaid debt unſatisfied, might be paid by a tax on the ſalaries or eſtates of *bankers, common cheats, uſurers, treaſurers, imbezzlers of public money, general officers, ſharpers, penſioners, pick-pockets*, &c.

THE

THE PREFACE

TO

OPE's and SWIFT's MISCELLANIES, in four volumes 12*mo*, 1727.

THE papers that compoſe the firſt of theſe volumes, were printed about eighteen years ;o, to which there are now added two or three nall tracts; and the verſes are transferred into ıe fourth volume apart, with the addition of ch others as we ſince have written. The ſe- ınd and third will conſiſt of ſeveral ſmall treatis in proſe, in which a friend or two is concern- l with us.

Having both of us been extremely ill treated by ıme bookſellers, eſpecially one Edmund Curll, was our opinion, that the beſt method we could ake for juſtifying ourſelves, would be, to publiſh hatever looſe papers, in proſe and verſe, we ave formerly written; not only ſuch as have al- tady ſtole into the world (very much to our re- ret, and perhaps very little to our credit) but uch as, in any probability, hereafter may run the ame fate; having been obtained from us by the nportunity, and divulged by the indiſcretion of riends, although reſtrained by promiſes, which ew of them are ever known to obſerve, and often hink they make us a compliment in breaking.

But the conſequences have been ſtill worſe: we ave been entitled, and have had our names pre-

fixed at length, to whole volumes of mean productions, equally offenfive to good manners and good ſenſe, which we never ſaw nor heard of till they appeared in print.

For a *forgery* in ſetting a falſe name to a writing, which may prejudice another's fortune, the law puniſhes the offender with the loſs of his *ears:* but has inflicted no adequate penalty for ſuch as prejudice another's reputation, in doing the ſame thing in print; though all and every individual book, ſo ſold under a falſe name, are manifeſtly ſo many ſeveral and multiplied forgeries.

Indeed we hoped, that the good nature, or at leaſt the good judgement of the world, would have cleared us from the imputation of ſuch things, as had been thus charged upon us by the malice of enemies, the want of judgment in friends, the unconcern of indifferent perſons, and the confident aſſertions of bookſellers.

We are aſhamed to find ſo ill a taſte prevail, as to make it a neceſſary work to do this juſtice to ourſelves. It is very poſſible for any author to write below himſelf; either his ſubject not proving ſo fruitful, or fitted for him, as he at firſt imagined; or his health, or his humour, or the preſent diſpoſition of his mind, unqualifying him at that juncture: however, if he poſſeſſed any diſtinguiſhing marks of ſtile, or peculiarity of thinking, there would remain, in his leaſt ſucceſsful writings, ſome few tokens, whereby perſons of taſte might diſcover him.

But

t ſince it hath otherwiſe fallen out, we think
ave ſufficiently paid for our want of pru-
:; and determine for the future to be leſs
nunicative: or rather, having done with ſuch
ements, we are reſolved to give up, what we
ot fairly diſown, to the ſeverity of critics,
alice of perſonal enemies, and the indul-
: of friends.

e are ſorry for the ſatire interſperſed in ſome
eſe pieces upon a few people, from whom
igheſt provocations have been received, and
by their conduct ſince, have ſhewn, that
have not yet forgiven us the wrong they did.
a very unlucky circumſtance, to be obliged
taliate the injuries of ſuch authors, whoſe
s are ſo ſoon forgotten, that we are in dan-
lready of appearing the firſt aggreſſors. It
be lamented, that Virgil let paſs a line,
h told poſterity he had two enemies, called
is and Mævius. The wiſeſt way is, not once
me them, but (as the madman adviſed the
leman, who told him he wore a ſword to kill
nemies) *to let them alone, and they would die of*
elves. And according to this rule, we have
l throughout all thoſe writings, which we
ned for the preſs: but in theſe, the publica-
whereof was not owing to our folly, but that
hers, the omiſſion of the names was not in
ower. At the worſt, we can only give them
liberty now for ſomething, which they have
any years exerciſed for nothing, of railing

and knitting againſt us. And it is ſome commendation, that we have not done it all this while, but avoided publickly to characterize any perſon, without long experience. *Nonum prematur in annum*, is a good rule for all writers, but chiefly for writers of characters; becauſe it may happen to theſe, who vent praiſe or cenſure too precipitately, as it did to an eminent Engliſh poet, who celebrated a young nobleman for erecting Dryden's monument upon a promiſe, which his Lordſhip forgot, till it was done by another.

In regard to two perſons only, we wiſh our raillery, though ever ſo tender, or reſentment, though ever ſo juſt, had not been indulged. We ſpeak of Sir John Vanburgh, who was a man of wit, and honour; and of Mr. Addiſon, whoſe name deſerves all reſpect from every lover of learning.

We cannot deny (and perhaps moſt writers of our kind have been in the ſame circumſtances) that in ſeveral parts of our lives, and according to the diſpoſitions we were in, we have written ſome things, which we may wiſh never to have thought on. Some ſallies of levity ought to be imputed to youth, (ſuppoſed in charity, as it was in truth, to be the time in which we wrote them;) others to the gaiety of our minds at certain junctures common to all men. The publiſhing of theſe, which we cannot diſown, and without our conſent, is, I think, a greater injury, than that of aſcribing to us the moſt ſtupid productions, which we can wholly deny.

This

This has been uſually practiſed in other countries after a man's deceaſe; which, in a great meaſure, accounts for the manifeſt *inequality* found in the works of the beſt authors; the collectors only conſidering, that ſo many more ſheets raiſe the price of the book; and the greater fame a writer is in poſſeſſion of, the more of ſuch traſh he may bear to have tacked to him. Thus, it is apparently the editor's intereſt to inſert what the author's judgment had rejected; and care is always taken to interſperſe theſe additions in ſuch a manner, that ſcarce any book of conſequence can be bought without purchaſing ſomething unworthy of the author along with it.

But in our own country, it is ſtill worſe: thoſe very bookſellers, who have ſupported themſelves upon an author's fame while he lived, have done their utmoſt, after his death, to leſſen it by ſuch practices: even a man's laſt *will* is not ſecure from being expoſed in print; whereby his moſt particular regards, and even his dying tenderneſſes are laid open. It has been humorouſly ſaid, that ſome have fiſhed the very jakes for papers left there by men of wit: but it is no jeſt to affirm, that the cabinets of the ſick, and the cloſets of the dead, have been broke open and ranſacked to publiſh our *private letters*, and divulge to all mankind the moſt ſecret ſentiments and intercourſe of friendſhip. Nay, theſe fellows are arrived to that height of impudence, that when an author has publickly diſowned a ſpurious piece,

they have difgraced his own name with him in printed advertisements; which has been practised to Mr. Congreve and Mr. Prior.

We are therefore compelled, in respect to truth, to submit to a very great hardship; to own such pieces as, in our tenderer judgments, we would have suppressed for ever: we are obliged to confess, that this whole collection, in a manner, consists of what we not only thought unlikely to reach the future, but unworthy even of the *present* age; not our studies, but our follies; not our works, but our idlenesses.

Some comfort, however, it is, that all of them are innocent, and most of them, slight as they are, had yet a moral tendency, either to soften the virulence of parties against each other, or to laugh out of countenance some vice or folly of the time; or to discredit the impositions of quacks, and false pretenders to science, or to humble the arrogance of the ill-natured and envious; in a word, to lessen the *vanity*, and promote the *good-humour* of mankind.

Such as they are, we must in truth confess, they are *ours*, and others should in justice believe, they are *all* that are *ours*. If any thing else has been printed, in which we really had any hand, it is either intolerably imperfect, or loaded with spurious additions; sometimes even with insertions of mens names, which we never meant, and for whom we have an esteem and respect. Even those pieces, in which we are least injured, have

ave never before been printed from the true co-
ies, or with any tolerable degree of correctneſs.
Ve declare, that this collection contains every
ece, which in the idleſt humour we have writ-
n; not only ſuch as came under our review or
rrection, but many others, which, however un-
iſhed, are not now in our power to ſuppreſs.
Vhatſoever was in our own poſſeſſion at the pub-
hing hereof, or of which no copy was gone a-
oad, we have actually deſtroyed, to prevent all
ſſibility of the like treatment.

The volumes likewiſe will contain all the pa-
rs, wherein we have caſually had any ſhare;
rticularly thoſe written in conjunction with our
iends, Dr. Arbuthnot and Mr. Gay; and laſtly,
l of this ſort compoſed ſingly by either of thoſe
ands. The reader is therefore deſired to do the
me juſtice to theſe our friends, as to us; and to
e aſſured, that all the *things*, called our *miſcella-
ies*, (except the works of Alexander Pope, pub-
ſhed by B. Lintot, in *quarto* and *folio*, in 1717;
oſe of Mr. Gay, by J. Tonſon, in *quarto*, in
720; and as many of theſe miſcellanies as have
een formerly printed by Benj. Tooke) are abſo-
utely ſpurious, and, without our conſent, impoſed
pon the public.

Twickenham, May 27, 1727.

JONATH. SWIFT.
ALEX. POPE.

A DIS-

A DISCOURS

OF THE

CONTESTS AND DISSENSI

between the NOBLES and the COMMC
Athens and *Rome;* with the Conſequenc
had upon both thoſe States. *

———*Si tibi vera videtur,*
Dede manus; et, ſi falſa eſt, accingere contr
LU

Written in the year 1701.

CHAP. I.

IT is agreed, that in all government t
an abſolute unlimited power, which na
and originally ſeems to be placed in the
body, wherever the executive part of
This holds in the body natural; for, wher

* This diſcourſe is a kind of remonſtrance in behalf
William and his friends, againſt the proceedings of the
Commons; and was publiſhed during the receſs of parl
the ſummer of 1701, with a view to engage them i
meaſures when they ſhould meet again.

At this time, Lewis XIV. was making large ſtrides t
niverſal monarchy; plots were carrying on at St. Germ
Dutch had acknowledged the duke of Anjou as king
and King William was made extremely uneaſy, by the
with which many of his miniſters and chief favourites
fued by the Commons. The King, to appeaſe their re
had made ſeveral changes in his miniſtry, and removed

place the beginning of motion, whether from the head, or the heart, or the animal ſpirits in general, the body moves and acts by a conſent of all its parts. This unlimited power, placed fundamentally in the body of a people, is what the beſt legiſlators of all ages have endeavoured, in their ſeveral ſchemes or inſtitutions of government, to depoſite in ſuch hands as would preſerve the people from rapine and oppreſſion within, as well as violence from without. Moſt of them ſeem to agree in this, that it was a truſt too great to be committed to any one man or aſſembly, and therefore they left the right ſtill in the whole body; but the adminiſtration, or executive part, in the hands of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*, into which three powers, all independent bodies of men, ſeem

his moſt faithful ſervants from places of the higheſt truſt and dignity. This expedient, however, had proved ineffectual, and the Commons perſiſted in their oppoſition; they began by impeaching William Bentink, Earl of Portland, groom of the ſtole; and proceeded to the impeachment of John Somers, Baron Somers of Evesham, firſt lord-keeper, afterwards lord chancellor; Edward Ruſſel, Earl of Orford, lord treaſurer of the navy, and one of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty; and Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax, one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, and afterwards chancellor of the exchequer. Its general purport is, to damp the warmth of the commons, by ſhewing, that the meaſures they purſued, had a direct tendency to bring on the tyranny, which they profeſſed to oppoſe; and the particular caſes of the impeached lords are paralleled in Athenian characters. *Hawkeſ.*

This whole treatiſe is full of hiſtorical knowledge, and excellent reflections. It is not mixed with any improper ſallies of wit, or any light airs of humour; and, in point of ſtyle and learning, is equal, if not ſuperior, to any of Swift's political works. *Orrery.*

ſeem naturally to divide; for, by all I have read of thoſe innumerable and petty commonwealths in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, as well as the great ones of Carthage and Rome, it ſeems to me, that a free people met together, whether by *compact*, or *family-government*, as ſoon as they fall into any acts of civil ſociety, do of themſelves divide into three powers. The firſt is that of ſome one eminent ſpirit, who, having ſignalized his valour and fortune in defence of his country, or, by the practice of popular arts at home, comes to have great influence on the people, to grow their leader in warlike expeditions, and to preſide, after a ſort, in their civil aſſemblies; and this is grounded upon the principles of nature and common reaſon, which, in all difficulties or dangers, where prudence or courage is required, do rather incite us to fly for counſel or aſſiſtance to a ſingle perſon, than a multitude. The ſecond natural diviſion of power, is of ſuch men, who have acquired large poſſeſſions, and conſequently dependencies, or deſcend from anceſtors who have left them great inheritances, together with an hereditary authority. Theſe eaſily uniting in thoughts and opinions, and acting in concert, begin to enter upon meaſures for ſecuring their properties, which are beſt upheld by preparing againſt invaſions from abroad, and maintaining peace at home; this commences a great council or ſenate of nobles, for the weighty affairs of the nation. The laſt diviſion is of the maſs or body of the people, whoſe part of power is great and indiſputable, when-

whenever they can unite either collectively, or by deputation, to exert it. Now, the three forms of government, ſo generally known in the ſchools, differ only by the civil adminiſtration being placed in the hands of one, or ſometimes two, (as in Sparta) who were called *Kings;* or in a ſenate, who were called the *Nobles;* or in the people collective or repreſentative, who may be called the *Commons*. Each of theſe had frequently the executive power in Greece, and ſometimes in Rome: but the power, in the laſt reſort, was always meant by legiſlators to be held in balance among all three. And it will be an eternal rule in politics, among every free people, that there is a balance of power to be carefully held by every ſtate within itſelf, as well as among ſeveral ſtates with each other.

The true meaning of a balance of power, either without or within a ſtate, is beſt conceived, by conſidering what the nature of a balance is. It ſuppoſes three things: Firſt, the part which is held, together with the hand that holds it; and then the two ſcales, with whatever is weighed therein. Now, conſider ſeveral ſtates in a neighbourhood; in order to preſerve peace between theſe ſtates, it is neceſſary they ſhould be formed into a balance, whereof one or more are to be directors, who are to divide the reſt into equal ſcales, and, upon occaſion, remove from one into the other, or elſe fall with their own weight into the lighteſt; ſo in a ſtate within itſelf, the balance muſt be held by a third hand, who is to deal

deal the remaining power with the utmoſt exactneſs into the ſeveral ſcales. Now, it is not neceſſary, that the power ſhould be equally divided between theſe three; for the balance may be held by the weakeſt, who, by his addreſs and conduct, removing from either ſcale, and adding of his own, may keep the ſcales duly poiſed. Such was that of the two kings of Sparta, the conſular power in Rome, that of the kings of Media before the reign of Cyrus, as repreſented by Xenophon, and that of the ſeveral limited ſtates in the Gothic inſtitution.

When the balance is broken, whether by the negligence, folly, or weakneſs of the hand that held it, or by mighty weights fallen into either ſcale, the power will never continue long in equal diviſion between the two remaining parties, but, till the balance is fixed anew, will run entirely into one. This gives the trueſt account of what is underſtood in the moſt ancient and approved Greek authors by the word *tyranny*, which is not meant for the ſeizing of the uncontrolled or abſolute power into the hands of a ſingle perſon, (as many ſuperficial men have groſly miſtaken,) but for the breaking of the balance by whatever hand, and leaving the power wholly in one ſcale; for *tyranny* and *uſurpation* in a ſtate, are by no means confined to any number, as might eaſily appear from examples enow; and, becauſe the point is material, I ſhall cite a few to prove it.

The Romans, * having ſent to Athens, and the Greek

* Dionyſ. Hal. lib. 10.

Greek cities of Italy, for the copies of the beſt laws, choſe ten legiſlators to put them into form; and, during the exerciſe of their office, ſuſpended the conſular power, leaving the adminiſtration of affairs in their hands. Theſe very men, though choſen for ſuch a work, as the digeſting a body of laws for the government of a free ſtate, did immediately uſurp arbitrary power; ran into all the forms of it, had their guards and ſpies, after the practice of the tyrants of thoſe ages, affected kingly ſtate, deſtroyed the nobles, and oppreſſed the people; one of them proceeding ſo far, as to endeavour to force a lady of great virtue: the very crime, which gave occaſion to the expulſion of the regal power but ſixty years before, as this attempt did to that of the Decemviri.

The Ephori in Sparta, were at firſt only certain perſons deputed by the kings to judge in civil matters, while *they* were employed in the war. Theſe men, at ſeveral times, uſurped the abſolute authority, and were as cruel tyrants, as any in their age.

Soon * after the unfortunate expedition into Sicily, the Athenians choſe four hundred men for adminiſtration of affairs, who became a body of tyrants, and were called, in the language of thoſe ages, an *oligarchy*, or tyranny of the *few*; under which hateful denomination they were ſoon after depoſed in great rage by the people.

When † Athens was ſubdued by Lyſander, he appointed thirty men for the adminiſtration of

* Thucyd. lib. 8. † Xenoph. de Rebus Græc. lib. 2.

that city, who immediately fell into the rankeſt tyranny: but this was not all; for, conceiving their power not founded on a *baſis* large enough, they admitted three thouſand into a ſhare of the government; and thus fortified, became the cruelleſt tyranny upon record. They murdered, in cold blood, great numbers of the beſt men, without any provocation, from the mere luſt of cruelty, like Nero or Caligula. This was ſuch a number of tyrants together, as amounted to near a third part of the whole city; for Xenophon tells us, * that the city contained about ten thouſand houſes; and, allowing one man to every houſe, who could have any ſhare in the government, (the reſt conſiſting of women, children, and ſervants) and making other obvious abatements, theſe tyrants, if they had been careful to adhere together, might have been a majority even of the people collective.

In the time of the ſecond Punic war, † the balance of power in Carthage was got on the ſide of the people, and this to a degree, that ſome authors reckon the government to have been then among them a *dominatio plebis*, or *tyranny of the commons*; which it ſeems they were at all times apt to fall into, and was at laſt among the cauſes that ruined their ſtate: and the frequent murders of their generals, which, Diodorus ‡ tells us, was grown to an eſtabliſhed cuſtom among them, may be another inſtance, that tyranny is not confined to numbers.

I ſhall

* Memorab. lib. 3. † Polyb. Frag. lib. 6. ‡ Lib. 20.

I ſhall mention but one example more, among great number that might be produced; it is re-ited by the author laſt cited. * The orators of he people at Argos (whether you will ſtyle them, n modern phraſe, *great ſpeakers of the houſe*, or nly, in general, repreſentatives of the people col-ective) ſtirred up the commons againſt the no-les, of whom 1600 were murdered at once; nd at laſt, the orators themſelves, becauſe they ſt off their accuſations, or, to ſpeak intelligibly, ecauſe they *withdrew their impeachments*; hav-ng, it ſeems, raiſed a ſpirit they were not able to ay. And this laſt circumſtance, as caſes have ately ſtood, may perhaps be worth noticing.

From what hath been already advanced, ſeve-al concluſions may be drawn:

1ſt, That a mixed government, partaking of he known forms received in the ſchools, is by no means of Gothic invention, but hath place in na-ure and reaſon; ſeems very well to agree with he ſentiments of moſt legiſlators, and to have een followed in moſt ſtates, whether they have ppeared under the name of monarchies, ariſto-racies, or democracies: for, not to mention the everal republics of this compoſition in Gaul and Germany, deſcribed by Cæſar and Tacitus, Poly-bius tells us, the beſt government is that which onſiſts of three forms, *regno, optimatium, et po-uli imperio*; † which may be fairly tranſlated, the *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*. Such was that of parta, in its primitive inſtitution by Lycurgus;

* Polyb. Frag. lib. 15. † Lib. 6.

who, obſerving the corruptions and depravations to which every of theſe was ſubject, compounded his ſcheme out of all; ſo that it was made up of *reges, ſeniores, et populus.* Such alſo was the ſtate of Rome under its conſuls: and the author tells us, that the Romans fell upon this model purely by chance, (which I take to have been nature and common reaſon) but the Spartans by thought and deſign. And ſuch at Carthage was the *ſumma reipublicæ*, * or power in the laſt reſort; for they had their kings called *ſuffetes*, and a ſenate which had the power of *nobles*, and the people had a ſhare eſtabliſhed too.

2*dly*, It will follow, that thoſe reaſoners, who employ ſo much of their zeal, their wit, and their leiſure, for the upholding the balance of power in Chriſtendom, at the ſame time that, by their practices, they are endeavouring to deſtroy it at home, are not ſuch mighty patriots, or ſo much in the true intereſt of their country, as they would affect to be thought; but ſeem to be employed like a man, who pulls down with his right hand, what he has been building with his left.

3*dly*, This makes appear the error of thoſe who think it an uncontrollable maxim, that power is always ſafer lodged in many hands, than in one: for, if theſe many hands be made up only from one of the three diviſions before mentioned, it is plain, from thoſe examples already produced, and eaſy to be paralleled in other

* Polyb. Frag. lib. 6.

ther ages and countries, that they are as capable of enſlaving the nation, and of acting all manner of tyranny and oppreſſion, as it is poſſible for a ſingle perſon to be, though we ſhould ſuppoſe their number not only to be of four or five hundred, but above three thouſand.

Again, It is manifeſt, from what has been ſaid, that, in order to preſerve the balance in a mixed ſtate, the limits of power depoſited with each party, ought to be aſcertained, and generally known. The defect of this is the cauſe that introduces thoſe ſtrugglings in a ſtate about *prerogative* and *liberty*, about encroachments of the *few* upon the rights of the *many*, and of the *many* upon the privileges of the *few*, which ever did, and ever will conclude in a tyranny; firſt, either of the *few*, or the *many*, but at laſt infallibly of a ſingle perſon: for, whichever of the three diviſions in a ſtate is upon the ſcramble for more power than its own, (as one or other of them generally is) unleſs due care be taken by the other two, upon every new queſtion that ariſes, they will be ſure to decide in favour of themſelves, talk much of inherent right; they will nouriſh up a dormant power, and reſerve privileges *in petto*, to exert upon occaſions, to ſerve expedients, and to urge upon neceſſities; they will make large demands, and ſcanty conceſſions, ever coming off conſiderable gainers: thus, at length, the balance is broke, and tyranny let in; from which door of the three, it matters not.

To pretend to a *declarative* right, upon any occaſion

caſion whatſoever, is little leſs than to make uſe of the whole power; that is, to declare an opinion to be law, which has always been conteſted, or, perhaps, never ſtarted at all, before ſuch an incident brought it on the ſtage. Not to conſent to the enacting of ſuch a law, which has no view beſides the general good, unleſs another law ſhall at the ſame time paſs, with no other view but that of advancing the power of one party alone; what is this, but to claim a poſitive voice, as well as a negative? To pretend, that great changes* and alienations of property have created new and great dependencies, and conſequently new additions of power, as ſome reaſoners have done, is a moſt dangerous tenet. If dominion muſt follow property, let it follow in the ſame place; for, change in property, through the bulk of a nation, makes ſlow marches, and its due power always attends it. To conclude, that, whatever attempt is begun by an aſſembly, ought to be purſued to the end, without regard to the greateſt incidents that may happen to alter the caſe; to count it mean, and below the *dignity of a houſe*, to quit a proſecution; to reſolve upon a concluſion, before it is poſſible to be appriſed of the premiſes: to act thus, I ſay, is to affect not only abſolute power, but infallibility

* This ſeems to allude to a practice of the houſe of Commons, called *Tacking*: when they ſuſpected that a favourite bill would be rejected, they tacked it to a money-bill; and, as it was not poſſible to proceed without the ſupply, and as it became neceſſary to reject or receive both the bills thus tacked together, this expedient perfectly anſwered its purpoſe. *Hawkeſ.*

ty too. Yet, ſuch unaccountable proceedings as theſe, have popular aſſemblies engaged in, for want of fixing the due limits of *power* and *privilege*.

Great changes may, indeed, be made in a government, yet the form continue, and the balance be held: but large intervals of time muſt paſs between every ſuch innovation, enough to melt down and make it of a piece with the conſtitution. Such, we are told, were the proceedings of Solon, when he modelled anew the Athenian commonwealth; and what convulſions in our own, as well as other ſtates, have been bred by a neglect of this rule, is freſh and notorious enough: it is too ſoon, in all conſcience, to repeat this error again.

Having ſhewn, that there is a natural balance of power in all free ſtates, and how it hath been divided, ſometimes by the people themſelves, as in Rome, at others by the inſtitutions of the legiſlators, as in the ſeveral ſtates of Greece and Sicily; the next thing is, to examine, what methods have been taken to break or overthrow this balance, which every one of the three parties hath continually endeavoured, as opportunities have ſerved; as might appear from the ſtories of moſt ages and countries: for abſolute power, in a particular ſtate, is of the ſame nature with univerſal monarchy in ſeveral ſtates adjoining to each other. So endleſs and exorbitant are the deſires of men, whether conſidered in their perſons or their ſtates, that they will graſp at all, and can form no ſcheme of perfect happineſs with leſs.

leſs. Ever ſince men have been united into g
vernments, the hopes and endeavours after u
verſal monarchy, have been bandied among the
from the reign of Ninus to this of the M
Chriſtian King; in which purſuits, commo
wealths have had their ſhare, as well as m
narchs: ſo the Athenians, the Spartans, t
Thebans, and the Achaians, did ſeveral tim
aim at the univerſal monarchy of Greece; ſo t
commonwealths of Carthage and Rome affect
the univerſal monarchy of the then kno
world. In like manner, hath abſolute power be
purſued by the ſeveral parties of each particu
ſtate; wherein ſingle perſons have met with m
ſucceſs, though the endeavours of the *few* a
the *many* have been frequent enough; yet, bei
neither ſo uniform in their deſigns, nor ſo dir
in their views, they neither could manage
maintain the power they had got; but were e
deceived by the popularity and ambition of ſo
ſingle perſon. So that it will be always a wro
ſtep in policy, for the Nobles or Commons
carry their endeavours after power ſo far, as
overthrow the balance; and it would be enou
to damp their warmth in ſuch purſuits, if th
could once reflect, that, in ſuch a courſe, th
will be ſure to run upon the very rock that th
meant to avoid; which, I ſuppoſe, they wou
have us think, is the tyranny of a ſingle perſon

Many examples might be produced, of the e
deavours of each of theſe three rivals after abſ
lute power; but I ſhall ſuit my diſcourſe to t
tim

time I am writing in, and relate only ſuch diſſenſions in Greece and Rome, between the Nobles and Commons, with the conſequences of them, wherein the latter were the aggreſſors.

I ſhall begin with Greece, where my obſervations ſhall be confined to Athens, though ſeveral inſtances might be brought from other ſtates thereof.

CHAP. II.

Of the diſſenſions in ATHENS, *between the* few *and the* many.

THESEUS is the firſt, who is recorded, with any appearance of truth, to have brought the Grecians from a barbarous manner of life, among ſcattered villages, into cities; and to have eſtabliſhed the *popular ſtate* in Athens, aſſigning to himſelf the guardianſhip of the laws, and chief command in war. He was forced, after ſome time, to leave the Athenians to their own meaſures, upon account of their ſeditious temper, which ever continued with them, till the final diſſolution of their government by the Romans. It ſeems, the country about Attica was the moſt barren of any in Greece; through which means it happened, that the natives were never expelled by the fury of invaders, (who thought it not worth a conqueſt) but continued always Aborigines; and therefore, retained, through all revolutions, a tincture of that turbulent ſpirit, wherewith their government began. This inſtitution of

of Theſeus, appears to have been rather a ſo
mixed monarchy, than a popular ſtate, and
aught we know, might continue ſo durin
ſeries of kings till the death of Codrus. I
this laſt prince, Solon was ſaid to be deſcen
who, finding the people engaged in two vi
factions of the poor and the rich, and in
confuſion thereupon; refuſing the mona
which was offered him, choſe rather to caſ
government after another model, wherei
made due proviſions for ſettling the balan
power, chuſing a Senate of four hundred,
diſpoſing the magiſtracies and offices acco
to mens eſtates; leaving to the multitude
votes in electing, and the power of judgin
tain proceſſes by appeal. This council of
hundred was choſen, one hundred out of
tribe, and ſeems to have been a body repreſen
of the people, though the people collectiv
ſerved a ſhare of power to themſelves. It
point of hiſtory perplexed enough; but
much is certain, that the balance of powe
provided for; elſe Piſiſtratus, called by ar
the tyrant of Athens, could never have gov
ſo peaceably as he did, without changing a
Solon's laws.* Theſe ſeveral powers, tog
with that of the *archon* or chief magiſtrate,
up the form of government in Athens, at
time it began to appear upon the ſcene of a
and ſtory.

The firſt great man bred up under this in

* Herodot. lib. 1.

was Miltiades, who lived about ninety years
Solon, and is reckoned to have been the firſt
captain, not only of Athens, but of all
ce. From the time of Miltiades to that of
on, who is looked upon as the laſt famous
al of Athens, are about 180 years: after
, they were ſubdued and inſulted by Alex-
's captains, and continued, under ſeveral re-
ions, a ſmall truckling ſtate, of no name or
ation, till they fell, with the reſt of Greece,
r the power of the Romans.

uring this period from Miltiades to Phocion,
l trace the conduct of the Athenians with
on to their diſſenſions between the people
ome of their generals; who, at that time, by
power and credit in the army, in a warlike
ionwealth, and often ſupported by each o-
were, with the magiſtrates and other civil
rs, a ſort of counterpoiſe to the power of the
e, who, ſince the death of Solon, had al-
made great encroachments. What theſe
iſions were, how founded, and what the
quences of them, I ſhall briefly and impar-
relate.

muſt here premiſe, that the Nobles in A-
, were not at this time a corporate aſſembly,
l can gather; therefore, the reſentments of
Commons were uſually turned againſt parti-
perſons, and by way of articles of impeach-
. Whereas, the Commons in Rome, and
other ſtates, as will appear in a proper
, though they followed this method upon
occaſion,

occaſion, yet generally purſued the enlar
of their power, by more ſet quarrels of on
aſſembly againſt another. However, the
of particular impeachments being not lim
former ages, any more than that of
ſtruggles and diſſenſions between fixed aſſ
of Nobles and Commons, and the ruin of
having been owing to the former, as
Rome was to the latter, I ſhall treat on b
preſly; that thoſe ſtates, who are conce
either (if at leaſt there be any ſuch now
world) may, by obſerving the means an
of former diſſenſions, learn whether the
are alike in theirs; and if they find them
ſo, may conſider whether they ought not j
apprehend the ſame effects.

To ſpeak of every particular perſon im
by the Commons of Athens, within the
deſigned, would introduce the hiſtory of
every great man they had among them:
therefore take notice only of ſix, who, li
that period of time when Athens was
height of its glory, as indeed it could no
therwiſe, while ſuch hands were at the
though *impeached for high crimes and mi*
ors, ſuch as *bribery*, *arbitrary proceedings*, *
ing or embezzling public funds, *ill conduct*
and the like, were honoured and lame
their country, as the preſervers of it, a
had the veneration of all ages ſince paid j
their memories.

Miltiades was one of the Athenian

gainſt the Perſian power, and the famous vic-ory at Marathon was chiefly owing to his valour nd conduct. Being ſent, ſome time after, to re-luce the iſland Paros, he miſtook a great fire at a diſtance for the fleet, and being no ways a natch for them, ſet ſail for Athens; at his arri-al, he was *impeached* by the Commons for trea-hery, though not able to appear by reaſon of his wounds, fined 30,000 crowns, and died in priſon. Though the conſequences of this proceeding, up-n the affairs of Athens, were no other than the ntimely loſs of ſo great and good a man, yet I ould not forbear relating it.

Their next great man was Ariſtides. * Be-ides the mighty ſervice he had done his country n the wars, he was a perſon of the ſtricteſt juſ-ice, and beſt acquainted with the laws, as well s forms of their government, ſo that he was in a manner Chancellor of Athens. This man, up-n a ſlight and falſe accuſation, of *favouring arbi-rary power*, was baniſhed by *oſtraciſm*; which, rendered into modern Engliſh, would ſignify, that they voted, *he ſhould be removed from their preſence and council for ever*. But, however, they had the wit to recal him, and to that action owed the preſervation of their ſtate, by his future ſer-vices. For it muſt be ſtill confeſſed in behalf of the Athenian people, that they never conceived themſelves perfectly infallible, nor arrived to the heights of *modern aſſemblies*, to make *obſtinacy*

* Lord Somers. He was the general patron of the *literati*, and the particular friend of Dr. Swift. *Orrery*.

confirm what *ſudden heat* and *temerity* began. They thought it not below the dignity of an aſſembly, to endeavour at correcting an ill ſtep; at leaſt to repent, though it often fell out too late.

Themiſtocles † was at firſt a commoner himſelf: it was he that raiſed the Athenians to get their greatneſs at ſea, which he thought to be the true and conſtant intereſt of that commonwealth; and the famous naval victory over the Perſians, at Salamis, was owing to his conduct. It ſeems the people obſerved ſomewhat of haughtineſs in his temper and behaviour, and therefore baniſhed him for five years; but, finding ſome ſlight matter of accuſation againſt him, they ſent to ſeize his perſon; and he hardly eſcaped to the Perſian court; from whence, if the love of his country had not ſurmounted its baſe ingratitude to him, he had many invitations to return at the head of the Perſian fleet, and take a terrible revenge: but he rather choſe a voluntary death.

The people of Athens impeached Pericles, * for

† Earl of Orford. He had been conſidered in a manner as Lord High Admiral, the whole affairs of the navy having been committed to his charge. *Orrery.*

* Lord Halifax. He had a fine genius for poetry; and had employed his more youthful part of life in that ſcience. He was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Mouſe Montague, having ridiculed, jointly with Mat. Prior, Mr. Dryden's famous poem of the Hind and Panther. The parody is drawn from Horace's fable of the city mouſe and country mouſe. But afterwards, upon Mr. Montague's promotion to the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, Prior, with a good-humoured indignation at ſeeing his friend preferred, and himſelf neglected, concludes an epiſtle, written

for *miſapplying the public revenues to his own private uſe.* He had been a perſon of great deſervings from the republic, was an *admirable ſpeaker*, and very popular. *His accompts were confuſed, and he could not then give them up;* therefore, merely to divert that difficulty, and the conſequences of it, he was forced to engage his country in the Peloponneſian war, the longeſt that ever was known in Greece, and which ended in the utter ruin of Athens.

The ſame people, having reſolved to ſubdue Sicily, ſent a mighty fleet under the command of Nicias, Lyſimachus, and Alcibiades; the two former, perſons of age and experience; the laſt, a young man of noble birth, excellent education, and a plentiful fortune. A little before the fleet ſet ſail, it ſeems, one night, the ſtone images of Mercury, placed in ſeveral parts of the city, were all pared in the face: this action the Athenians interpreted for a deſign of deſtroying the popular ſtate; and Alcibiades, having been formerly noted for the like frolicks and excurſions, was immediately accuſed of this. He, whether conſcious of his innocence, or aſſured of the ſecrecy, offered to come to his trial, before he went to his command; this the Athenians refuſed. But as ſoon as he was got to Sicily, they ſent for him back, deſigning to take the advantage, and pro-

written in the year 1698, to Fleetwood Shepherd, Eſq; with theſe three lines:

My friend Charles Montague's preferr'd,
Nor would I have it long obſerv'd,
That one *mouſe* eats while *t'other's* ſtarv'd. *Orrery.*

ſecute him in the abſence of his friends, and of the army, where he was very powerful. It ſeems, he underſtood the reſentments of a popular aſſembly too well, to truſt them; and therefore, inſtead of returning, eſcaped to Sparta; where his deſires of revenge prevailing over his love to his country, he became its greateſt enemy. Meanwhile, the Athenians before Sicily, by the death of one commander, and the ſuperſtition, weakneſs, and perfect ill conduct of the other, were utterly deſtroyed, the whole fleet taken, and a miſerable ſlaughter made of the army, whereof hardly one ever returned. Some time after this, Alcibiades was recalled upon his own conditions, by the neceſſities of the people, and made Chief Commander at ſea and land; but his Lieutenant engaging againſt his poſitive orders, and being beaten by Lyſander, Alcibiades was again diſgraced, and baniſhed. However, the Athenians having loſt all ſtrength and heart, ſince their misfortune at Sicily, and now deprived of the only perſon that was able to recover their loſſes, repent of their raſhneſs, and endeavour in vain for his reſtoration; the Perſian Lieutenant, to whoſe protection he fled, making him a ſacrifice to the reſentments of Lyſander, the general of the Lacedemonians, who now reduces all the dominions of the Athenians, takes the city, razes their walls, ruins their works, and changes the form of their government; which, though again reſtored for ſome time by Thraſybulus (as their walls were rebuilt by Conon) yet here we muſt

date

late the fall of the Athenian greatneſs; the dominion and chief power in Greece, from that period to the time of Alexander the Great, which was about fifty years, being divided between the Spartans and Thebans; though Philip, Alexander's father (*the moſt Chriſtian King* of that age) had indeed, ſome time before, begun to break in upon the republics of Greece, by conqueſt or *bribery*; particularly, *dealing large money among the popular orators*, by which he brought many of them, as the term of art was then, to Philipize.

In the time of Alexander and his captains, the Athenians were offered an opportunity of recovering their liberty, and being reſtored to their former ſtate; but the wiſe turn they thought to give the matter, was by an impeachment and ſacrifice of the author, to hinder the ſucceſs. For, after the deſtruction of Thebes by Alexander, his Prince, deſigning the conqueſt of Athens, was prevented by Phocion * the Athenian General, then Ambaſſador from that ſtate; who, by his great wiſdom and ſkill at negociations, diverted Alexander from his deſign, and reſtored the Athenians to his favour. The very ſame ſucceſs he had with Antipater after Alexander's death, at which time the government was new regulated by Solon's laws: but Polyperchon, in hatred to Phocion, having, by order of the young King, whoſe governor he was, reſtored thoſe whom Phocion had baniſhed, the plot ſucceeded.

* The Earl of Portland. *Orrery.*

Phocion was accused by popular orators, and put to death.

This was the most powerful commonwealth of all Greece, after great degeneracies from the institution of Solon, entirely destroyed by that rash, violent, and inconstant humour of the people, which was never satisfied to see a general either victorious or unfortunate: such ill judges, as well as governors, have popular assemblies been, of those who best deserved from them.

Now, the circumstance which makes these examples of more importance, is, that this very power of the people in Athens, claimed so confidently for an *inherent right*, and insisted on as the *undoubted privilege of an Athenian born*, was the rankest encroachment imaginable, and the greatest degeneracy from the form that Solon left them. In them, their government was grown into a *dominatus plebis*, or *tyranny of the people*, who, by degrees, had broke and overthrown the balance, which that legislator had very well fixed and provided for. This appears not only from what has been already said of that lawgiver, but more manifestly from a passage in Diodorus; who tells us, * *That Antipater, one of Alexander's captains, abrogated the popular government (in Athens,) and restored the power of suffrages and magistracy, to such only as were worth two thousand drachmas; by which means,* says he, *that republic came to be [again] administered by the laws of Solon.* By this quotation, it is manifest, that great author

* Lib. 18.

thor looked upon Solon's inſtitution, and a popular government, to be two different things. And as for this reſtoration by Antipater, it had neither conſequence nor continuance worth obſerving.

I might eaſily produce many more examples; but theſe are ſufficient: and it may be worth the reader's time, to reflect a little on the merits of the cauſe, as well as of the men who had been thus dealt with by their country. I ſhall direct him no further, than by repeating, that Ariſtides was the moſt renowned by the people themſelves, for his exact *juſtice and knowledge in the law*; that Themiſtocles was a moſt fortunate admiral, and had got a *mighty victory over the great King of Perſia's fleet*; that Pericles was an *able miniſter of ſtate, an excellent orator, and a man of letters*: and laſtly, that Phocion, beſides the ſucceſs of his arms, was alſo renowned for his *negociations abroad, having, in an embaſſy, brought the greateſt monarch of the world at that time, to the terms of an honourable peace, by which his country was preſerved.*

I ſhall conclude my remarks upon Athens, with the character given us of that people by Polybius. *About this time*, ſays he, *the Athenians were governed by two men; quite ſunk in their affairs; had little or no commerce with the reſt of Greece, and were become great reverencers of crowned heads.*

For, from the time of Alexander's captains, till Greece was ſubdued by the Romans, to the latter part of which, this deſcription of Polybius falls

falls in, Athens never produced one famous man, either for councils or arms, or hardly for learning. And indeed, it was a dark inſipid period through all Greece: for, except the Achaian league under Aratus and Philopœmen, and the endeavours of Agis and Cleomenes, to reſtore the ſtate of Sparta, ſo frequently haraſſed by tyrannies, occaſioned by the popular practices of the Ephori, there was very little worth recording. All which conſequences may perhaps be juſtly imputed to this degeneracy of Athens.

CHAP. III.

Of the diſſenſions between the Patricians and Plebeians in Rome, with the conſequences they had upon that ſtate.

HAVING, in the foregoing chapter, confined myſelf to the proceedings of the Commons only, by the method of *impeachments* againſt particular perſons, with the fatal effects they had upon the ſtate of Athens; I ſhall now treat of the diſſenſions at Rome between the people and the collective body of the Patricians or Nobles. It is a large ſubject, but I ſhall draw it into as narrow a compaſs as I can.

As Greece, from the moſt ancient accounts we have of it, was divided into ſeveral kingdoms, ſo was moſt part of Italy * into ſeveral petty commonwealths. And as thoſe kings in Greece are ſaid

* Dionyſ. Halicar.

ſaid to have been deſpoſed by their people upon the ſcore of their arbitrary proceedings, ſo, on the contrary, the commonwealths of Italy were all ſwallowed up, and concluded in the tyranny of the Roman emperors. However, the differences between thoſe Grecian monarchies, and Italian republics, were not very great: for, by the accounts Homer gives us of thoſe Grecian princes who came to the ſiege of Troy, as well as by ſeveral paſſages in the Odyſſey, it is manifeſt, that the power of theſe princes, in their ſeveral ſtates, was much of a ſize with that of the kings in Sparta, the archon at Athens, the ſuffetes at Carthage, and the conſuls in Rome: ſo that a limited and divided power ſeems to have been the moſt ancient and inherent principles of both thoſe people, in matters of government. And ſuch did that of Rome continue from the time of Romulus, though with ſome interruptions, to Julius Cæſar, when it ended in the tyranny of a ſingle perſon. During which period (not many years longer than from the Norman conqueſt to our age) the Commons were growing, by degrees, into power and property, gaining ground upon the Patricians, as it were, inch by inch, till at laſt they quite overturned the balance, leaving all doors open to the practices of popular and ambitious men, who deſtroyed the wiſeſt republic, and enſlaved the nobleſt people, that ever entered upon the ſtage of the world. By what ſteps and degrees this was brought to paſs, ſhall be the ſubject of my preſent enquiry.

While

While Rome was governed by kings, the monarchy was altogether elective. Romulus himself, when he had built the city, was declared King by the universal consent of the people, and by augury, which was there understood for divine appointment. Among other divisions he made of the people, one was into Patricians and Plebeians: the former were like the barons of England some time after the conquest; and the latter are also described to be almost exactly what our Commons were then. For they were dependents upon the Patricians, whom they chose for their patrons and protectors, to answer for their appearance, and defend them in any process: they also supplied their patrons with money, in exchange for their protection. This custom of *patronage*, it seems, was very ancient, and long practised among the Greeks.

Out of these Patricians, Romulus chose an hundred to be a *senate*, or *grand council*, for advice and assistance to him in the administration. The senate, therefore, originally consisted all of *nobles*, and were of themselves a *standing council*, the *people* being only convoked upon such occasions, as, by this institution of Romulus, fell into their cognizance: those were to constitute magistrates, to give their voices for making laws, and to advise upon entering on a war. But the two former of these popular privileges, were to be confirmed by authority of the senate; and the last was only permitted at the King's pleasure. This was the utmost extent of power pretended to by the Commons,

ons, in the time of Romulus; all the reſt being vided between the King and the ſenate; the hole agreeing very nearly with the conſtitution England, for ſome centuries after the conqueſt. After a year's *interregnum* from the death of omulus, the ſenate, of their own authority, ioſe a ſucceſſor, and a ſtranger, merely upon the me of his virtue, without aſking the conſent of e Commons; which cuſtom they likewiſe obrved in the two following kings. But, in the ection of Tarquinius Priſcus, the fifth King, e firſt here mentioned, that it was done *populi petrata venia*; which indeed was but very reaıable for a free people to expect; though I canıt remember, in my little reading, by what inlents they were brought to advance ſo great a p. However it were, this Prince, in gratitude the people, by whoſe conſent he was choſen, ected a hundred ſenators out of the commons, hoſe number, with former additions, was now ounted to three hundred.

The people having once diſcovered their own ength, did ſoon take occaſion to exert it, and at by very great degrees. For, at this King's ath, who was murdered by the ſons of a forer, being at a loſs for a ſucceſſor, Servius Tullius, ſtranger, and of mean extraction, was choſen otector of the kingdom by the *people*, without e conſent of the ſenate; at which the nobles ing diſpleaſed, he wholly applied himſelf to atify the Commons, and was by them declared id confirmed no longer Protector, but King.

This

This prince firſt introduced the cuſtom of giving freedom to ſervants, ſo as to become citizens of equal privileges with the reſt, which very much contributed to increaſe the power of the *people*.

Thus, in a very few years, the commons proceeded ſo far, as to wreſt, even the power of chuſing a king, entirely out of the hands of the nobles; which was ſo great a leap, and cauſed ſuch a convulſion and ſtruggle in the ſtate, that the conſtitution could not bear it; but civil diſſenſions aroſe, which immediately were followed by the tyranny of a ſingle perſon, as this was by the utter ſubverſion of the regal government, and by a ſettlement upon a new foundation. For the nobles, ſpighted at this indignity done them by the commons, firmly united in a body, depoſed this Prince by plain force, and choſe Tarquin the Proud; who, running into all the forms and methods of tyranny, after a cruel reign, was expelled, by an univerſal concurrence of nobles and people, whom the miſeries of his reign had reconciled.

When the conſular government began, the balance of power between the nobles and plebeians was fixed anew: the two firſt Conſuls were nominated by the nobles, and confirmed by the commons; and a law was enacted, that no perſon ſhould bear any magiſtracy in Rome, *injuſſu populi*, that is, *without conſent of the Commons*.

In ſuch turbulent times as theſe, many of the poorer citizens had contracted numerous debts, either to the richer ſort among themſelves, or to ſenators

ſenators and other nobles: and the caſe of debtors in Rome, for the firſt four * centuries, was, after the ſet time for payment, no choice, but either to pay, or be the creditor's ſlave. In this juncture, the commons leave the city in mutiny and diſcontent, and will not return, but upon condition to be acquitted of all their debts; and, moreover, that certain magiſtrates be choſen yearly, whoſe buſineſs it ſhall be, to defend the commons from injuries. Theſe are called *tribunes* of the people; their perſons are held ſacred and inviolable; and the people bind themſelves, by oath, never to abrogate the office. By theſe Tribunes, in proceſs of time, the people were groſly impoſed on, to ſerve the turns and occaſions of revengeful or ambitious men, and to commit ſuch exorbitancies as could not end, but in the diſſolution of the government.

Theſe Tribunes, a year or two after their inſtitution, kindled great diſſenſions between the nobles and the commons, on the account of Coriolanus, a nobleman, whom the latter had *impeached*, and the conſequences of whoſe impeachment (if I had not confined myſelf to Grecian examples, for that part of my ſubject) had like to have been ſo fatal to their ſtate. And, from this time, the Tribunes began a cuſtom of accuſing to the people whatever nobles they pleaſed, ſeveral of whom were baniſhed, or put to death, in every age.

At this time, the Romans were very much engaged in wars with their neighbouring ſtates; but,

* Ab urbe condita. *From the building of the city.*

but, upon the leaſt intervals of peace, the quarrels between the nobles and the Plebeians would revive; and one of the moſt frequent ſubjects of their differences was the *conquered lands*, which the commons would fain have divided among the public; but the ſenate could not be brought to give their conſent: for ſeveral of the wiſeſt among the nobles, began to apprehend the growing power of the people; and, therefore knowing what an acceſſion thereof would accrue to them, by ſuch an addition of property, uſed all means to prevent it: for this, the Appian family was moſt noted, and thereupon moſt hated, by the commons. One of them having made a ſpeech againſt this diviſion of lands, was impeached by the people, of high treaſon, and a day appointed for his trial; but, diſdaining to make his defence, he choſe rather the uſual Roman remedy, of killing himſelf: after whoſe death, the commons prevailed, and the lands were divided among them.

This point was no ſooner gained, but new diſſenſions began: for the plebeians would fain have a law enacted, to lay all mens rights and privileges upon the ſame level; and to enlarge the power of every magiſtrate within his own juriſdiction, as much as that of the conſuls. The tribunes, alſo, obtained to have their number doubled, which, before, was five: and the author tells us *, that their inſolence and power encreaſed with their number, and the ſeditions were alſo doubled with it.

By

* Dionyſ. Halicar.

By the beginning of the fourth century from the building of Rome, the tribunes proceeded ſo far, in the name of the commons, as to accuſe and fine the conſuls themſelves, who repreſented the kingly power. And the ſenate obſerving, how, in all contentions, they were forced to yield to the tribunes and people, thought it their wiſeſt courſe to give way alſo to time; therefore, a decree was made, to ſend ambaſſadors to Athens, and to the other Grecian commonwealths, planted in that part of Italy called Græcia Major, to make a collection of the beſt laws; out of which, and ſome of their own, a new complete body of law was formed, afterwards known by the name of the *laws of the twelve tables*.

To digeſt theſe laws into order, ten men were choſen, and the adminiſtration of all affairs left in their hands; what uſe they made of it, has been already ſhewn. It was, certainly, a great revolution, produced entirely by the many unjuſt encroachments of the people; and might have wholly changed the fate of Rome, if the folly and vice of thoſe, who were chiefly concerned, could have ſuffered it to take root.

A few years after, the commons made farther advances on the power of the nobles; demanding, among the reſt, that the conſulſhip, which, hitherto, had only been diſpoſed to the former, ſhould now ly in common, to the pretenſions of any Roman whatſoever. This, though it failed at preſent, yet afterwards obtained, and was a mighty ſtep to the ruin of the commonwealth.

What I have hitherto ſaid of Rome, has been chiefly collected out of that exact and diligent writer, Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus, whoſe hiſtory, [illegible] the injury of time, reaches no farther than to the beginning of the fourth century after the building of Rome. The reſt I ſhall ſupply from other authors; though I do not think it neceſſary to deduce this matter any further, ſo very particularly as I have hitherto done.

To point at what time the balance of power was moſt equally held between the *Lords* and *Commons* in Rome, would, perhaps, admit a controverſy. Polybius tells us *, that, in the ſecond Punic war, the Carthaginians were declining, becauſe the balance was got too much on the ſide of the people; whereas the Romans were in the greateſt vigour, by the power remaining in the ſenate: yet this was between two and three hundred years after the period Dionyſius ends with; in which time, the commons had made ſeveral further acquiſitions. This, however, muſt be granted, that (till about the middle of the fourth century) when the ſenate appeared reſolute, at any time, upon exerting their authority, and adhering cloſely together, they did often carry their point. Beſides, it is obſerved, by the beſt authors, † that, in all the quarrels and tumults at Rome, from the expulſion of the kings, though the people frequently proceeded to rude, contumelious language, and ſometimes ſo far as to pull and hale one another about the Forum, yet no blood was

* Fragm. lib. 6. † Dionyſ. Halicar. Plut. &c.

was ever drawn in any popular commotions, till the time of the Gracchi: however, I am of opinion, that the balance had begun, many years before, to lean to the popular ſide. But this default was corrected, partly by the principle juſt mentioned, of never drawing blood in a tumult; partly by the warlike genius of the people, which, in thoſe ages, was almoſt perpetually employed; and partly by their great commanders, who, by the credit they had in their armies, fell into the ſcales, as a further counterpoiſe to the growing power of the people. Beſides, Polybius, who lived in the time of Scipio Africanus the younger, had the ſame apprehenſions of the continual encroachments made by the commons; and, being a perſon of as great abilities, and as much ſagacity, as any of his age, from obſerving the corruptions, which, he ſays, had already entered into the Roman conſtitution, did very nearly foretel what would be the iſſue of them. His words are very remarkable, and, with little addition, may be rendered to this purpoſe: *That thoſe abuſes and corruptions, which, in time, deſtroy a government, are ſown along with the very ſeeds of it, and both grow up together; and that, as ruſt eats away iron, and worms devour wood, and both are a ſort of plagues, born and bred along with the ſubſtance they deſtroy; ſo, with every form and ſcheme of government that man can invent, ſome vice or corruption creeps in with the very inſtitution, which grows up along with, and at laſt deſtroys it* *. The

* Fragm. lib. 5.

[illegible] further, in another place †, ventures so far as to guess at the particular fate, which would attend the Roman government. He says, its ruin would arise from the popular tumults, which would introduce a *tyrannis plebis*, or tyranny of the people; wherein, it is certain, he had reason; and, therefore, might have adventured to pursue his conjectures, so far, as to the consequences of a popular tyranny, which, as perpetual experience teaches, never fails to be followed by the arbitrary government of a single person.

About the middle of the fourth century from the building of Rome, it was declared lawful for *nobles* and *plebeians* to intermarry; which custom, among many other states, has proved the most effectual means to ruin the former, and raise the latter.

And now, the greatest employments in the state, were, one after another, by laws forcibly enacted by the *commons*, made free to the people; the Consulship itself, the office of Censor, that of the Quæstors, or Commissioners of the Treasury, the office of Prætor, or Chief Justice, the Priesthood, and even that of Dictator; the senate, after long opposition, yielding, merely for present quiet, to the continual urging clamours of the *commons*, and of the *tribunes*, their advocates. A law was likewise enacted, that the *plebiscita*, or a *vote of the house of Commons*, should be of universal obligation; nay, in time, the method of enacting laws was wholly inverted: for, whereas the senate

† Fragm. lib. 6.

nate uſed, of old, to confirm the *plebiſcita*, the people did at laſt, as they pleaſed, confirm or diſannul the *ſenatuſconſulta* ‡.

Appius Claudius brought in a cuſtom, of admitting to the ſenate the ſons of freed men, or of ſuch who had once been ſlaves; by which, and ſucceeding alterations of the like nature, that great council degenerated into a moſt corrupt and factious body of men, divided againſt itſelf; and its authority became deſpiſed.

The century and half following, to the end of the third Punic war, by the deſtruction of Carthage, was a very buſy period at Rome; the intervals between every war being ſo ſhort, that the *tribunes* and *people* had hardly leiſure or breath to engage in domeſtic diſſenſions: however, the little time they could ſpare, was generally employed the ſame way. So Terentius Leo, a *tribune*, is recorded to have baſely proſtituted the privileges of a *Roman* citizen, in perfect ſpight to the *nobles*. So the great African Scipio, and his brother, after all their mighty ſervices, were impeached by an ungrateful *commons*.

However, the warlike genius of the people, and continual employment they had for it, ſerved to divert this humour from running into a head, till the age of the Gracchi.

Theſe perſons, entering the ſcene in the time of a full peace, fell violently upon advancing the power of the people, by reducing into practice, all thoſe encroachments, which they had been ſo many

‡ Dionyſ. Lib. 2.

many years gaining. There were at that time certain *conquered lands* to be divided, beſide a *great private eſtate left by a king*: theſe, the *tribunes*, by procurement of the elder Gracchus, declared, by their legiſlative authority, were not to be diſpoſed of by the *nobles*, but by the *commons* only. The younger brother purſued the ſame deſign; and beſides, obtained a law, that all Italians ſhould vote at elections, as well as the citizens of Rome: in ſhort, the whole endeavours of them both, perpetually turned upon retrenching the *nobles* authority in all things, but eſpecially in the matter of *judicature*. And though they both loſt their lives in thoſe purſuits, yet they traced out ſuch ways, as were afterwards followed by Marius, Sylla, Pompey, and Cæſar, to the ruin of the Roman freedom and greatneſs.

For in the time of Marius Saturninus, a tribune procured a law, that the ſenate ſhould be bound by oath to agree to whatever the people would enact: and Marius himſelf, while he was in that office of tribune, is recorded to have, with great induſtry, uſed all endeavours for depreſſing the *nobles*, and raiſing the people, particularly for cramping the former in their *power of judicature*, which was *their moſt ancient inherent right*.

Sylla, by the ſame meaſures, became abſolute tyrant of Rome: he added three hundred commons to the ſenate, which perplexed the power of the whole order, and rendered it ineffectual; then, flinging off the maſk, he aboliſhed the office

of

of tribune, as being only a ſcaffold to tyranny, whereof he had no further uſe.

As to Pompey and Cæſar, Plutarch tells us, that their union for pulling down the *nobles* (by their credit with the people) was the cauſe of the civil war, which ended in the tyranny of the latter; both of them, in their conſulſhips, having uſed all endeavours and occaſions for ſinking the authority of the *patricians*, and giving way to all encroachments of the people, wherein they expected beſt to find their own account.

From this deduction of popular encroachments in Rome, the reader will eaſily judge, how much the balance was fallen upon that ſide. Indeed, by this time, the very foundation was removed; and it was a moral impoſſibility, that the republic could ſubſiſt any longer: for the *commons*, having uſurped the offices of ſtate, and trampled on the ſenate, there was no government left but a *dominatio plebis*. Let us therefore examine how they proceeded in this conjuncture.

I think it is an univerſal truth, that the people are much more dexterous at pulling down and ſetting up, than at preſerving what is fixed; and they are not fonder of ſeizing more than their own, than they are of delivering it up again to the *worſt bidder*, with their own into the bargain. For although, in their corrupt notions of divine worſhip, they are apt to multiply their gods; yet their earthly devotion is ſeldom paid to above one idol at a time, of their own creation, whoſe *oar* they pull with leſs murmuring, and much more

ſkill,

ſkill, than when they *ſhare the lading*, or ev
hold the helm.

The ſeveral provinces of the Roman emp
were now governed by the great men of th
ſtate; thoſe upon the frontiers, with power
armies, either for conqueſt or defence. Th
governors, upon any deſigns of revenge or am
tion, were ſure to meet with a divided powe
home, and therefore bent all their thoughts
applications to cloſe in with the people, who w
now by many degrees the ſtronger party. T
of the greateſt ſpirits that Rome ever produc
happened to live at the ſame time, and to be
gaged in the ſame purſuit; and this at a conju
ture the moſt dangerous for ſuch a conteſt: th
were Pompey and Cæſar, two ſtars of ſuch a m
nitude, that their *conjunction* was as likely t
fatal, as their *oppoſition*.

The *tribunes* and people, having now ſubd
all competitors, began the laſt game of a
valent populace, which is that of chuſing th
ſelves a *maſter*; while the nobles foreſaw,
uſed all endeavours left them to prevent it.
people, at firſt, made Pompey their Admiral,
full power over all the Mediterranean; ſoon a
Captain-General of all the Roman forces,
Governor of Aſia. Pompey, on the other
reſtored the office of *tribune*, which Sylla had
down; and, in his Conſulſhip, procured a law
*examining into the miſcarriages of men in offi
command for twenty years paſt*. Many other
amples of Pompey's popularity are left us
rec

, who was a perfect favourite of the people,
eſigned to be more; but his pretenſions
tale, for want of a timely opportunity of
ucing them upon the ſtage. For Cæſar,
is legions in Gaul, was a perpetual check
iis deſigns; and in the arts of pleaſing the
, did ſoon after get many lengths beyond
For he tells us himſelf, that the ſenate, by
effort, having made ſome ſevere decrees
: his proceedings, and againſt the tribunes,
ll left the city, and went over to his party,
nſequently, along with them, the affections
ıtereſts of the people; which is further
:ſt from the accounts he gives us of the
ıs in ſeveral towns mutinying againſt their
anders, and delivering both to his devotion.
s, Cæſar's public and avowed pretenſions
ginning the civil war, were to reſtore the
es and the people, oppreſſed (as he pretend-
the *nobles*.

s forced Pompey, againſt his inclinations,
he neceſſity of changing ſides, for fear of
forſaken by both; and of cloſing in with
nate and chief magiſtrates, by whom he
ıoſen General againſt Cæſar.

ıs, at length, the *ſenate*, (at leaſt the pri-
part of them, the *nobles*) under Pompey,
ıe *commons* under Cæſar, came to a final de-
of the long quarrels between them. For,
k, the ambition of private men, did, by no
, begin or occaſion this war; though civil
ſions never fail of introducing and ſpiriting
the

the ambition of private men; who thus become, indeed, the great inſtruments for deciding of ſuch quarrels, and at laſt are ſure to ſeize on the prize. But, no man that ſees a flock of vultures hovering over two armies ready to engage, can juſtly charge the blood drawn in the battle to them, though the carcaſes fall to their ſhare. For, while the balance of power is equally held, the ambition of private men, whether orators or great commanders, gives neither danger nor fear, nor can poſſibly endanger their country; but, that once broken, the divided parties are forced to unite each to its head: under whoſe conduct or fortune, one ſide is at firſt victorious, and at laſt both are ſlaves. And, to put it paſt diſpute, that this entire ſubverſion of the Roman liberty and conſtitution was altogether owing to thoſe meaſures, which had broke the balance between the *patricians* and *plebeians*, whereof the ambition of particular men was but an effect and conſequence; we need only conſider, that, when the uncorrupted part of the ſenate had, by the death of Cæſar, made one great effort to reſtore their former ſtate and liberty, the ſucceſs did not anſwer their hopes; but that whole aſſembly was ſo ſunk in its authority, that thoſe patriots were forced to fly, and give way to the madneſs of the people, who, by their own diſpoſitions, ſtirred up with the harangues of their orators, were now wholly bent upon ſingle and deſpotic ſlavery. Elſe, how could ſuch a profligate as Antony, or a boy of eighteen, like Octavius, ever dare to dream

of

ing the law to such an empire and people? in the latter succeeded, and entailed the tyranny, that heaven, in its anger, ever in- l on a corrupt and poisoned people. And with so little appearance, at Cæsar's death, when Cicero wrote to Brutus, how he had iled, by his credit with Octavius, to promise [Brutus] pardon and security for his person, great Roman received the notice with the st indignity, and returned Cicero an answer, pon record, full of the highest resentment and mpt for such an offer, and from such a hand. re ended all shew or shadow of liberty in e. Here was the repository of all the wise con- ons and struggles for power between the nobles ommons, lapped up safely in the bosom of a and a Caligula, a Tiberius and a Domitian. t us now see, from this deduction of parti- impeachments, and general dissensions in ce and Rome, what conclusions may natu- be formed for the instruction of any other , that may, haply, upon many points, labour r the like circumstances.

CHAP. IV.

PON the subject of *impeachments*, we may observe, that the custom of accusing the s to the *people*, either by themselves or their ors, (now styled an *impeachment in the name e commons*) hath been very ancient, both in ce and Rome, as well as Carthage; and

therefore, may ſeem to be the inherent right o
free people, nay, perhaps it is really ſo: but th
it is to be conſidered, firſt, that this cuſtom v
peculiar to republics, or ſuch ſtates where
adminiſtration lay principally in the hands of
commons, and ever raged more or leſs, acc
ing to their encroachments upon abſolute pow
having been always looked upon, by the wi
men and beſt authors of thoſe times, as an ef
of licentiouſneſs, and not of liberty; a diſtinct
which no multitude, either *repreſented* or *collect*
hath been, at any time, very nice in obſervi
However, perhaps this cuſtom, in popular ſta
of impeaching particular men, may ſeem to
nothing elſe but the peoples chuſing, upon o
ſion, to exerciſe their own juriſdiction in perſ
as if a king of England ſhould ſit as chief juſ
in his court of King's Bench; which, they
in former times, he ſometimes did. But in Sp
ta, which was called a kingly government, tho
the people were perfectly free, yet, becauſe
adminiſtration was in the two kings and the *ep*
ri, with the aſſiſtance of the ſenate, we reac
no impeachments by the people; nor was
proceſs againſt great men, either upon acco
of ambition or ill conduct, though it read
ſometimes to kings themſelves, ever formed t
way, as I can recollect; but only paſſed thro
thoſe hands, where the adminiſtration lay.
likewiſe, during the regal government in Ro
though it was inſtituted a mixed monarchy,
the people made great advances in power, ye

do not remember to have read of one impeachment from the commons againſt a patrician, until the conſular ſtate began, and the people had made great encroachments upon the adminiſtration.

Another thing to be conſidered, is, that, allowing this right of impeachment to be as inherent as they pleaſe, yet, if the commons have been perpetually miſtaken in the merits of the cauſes and the perſons, as well as in the conſequences of ſuch impeachments upon the peace of the ſtate, we cannot conclude leſs, than that the commons in Greece and Rome (whatever they may be in other ſtates) were by no means qualified, either as proſecutors or judges in ſuch matters; and therefore, that it would have been prudent, to have reſerved theſe privileges dormant, never to be produced but upon very great and urging occaſions, where the ſtate is in apparent danger, the univerſal body of the people in clamours againſt the adminiſtration, and no other remedy in view. But, for a few popular orators or tribunes, upon the ſcore of *perſonal piques*; or *to employ the pride they conceive in ſeeing themſelves at the head of a party*; or *as a method for advancement*; or *moved by certain powerful arguments that could make Demoſthenes philippize*: for ſuch men, I ſay, when the ſtate would, of itſelf, gladly be quiet, and hath, beſides, affairs of the laſt importance upon the anvil, to *impeach Miltiades**,

* Though, in other paſſages, Lord Orford's character is ſuppoſed to be drawn under the name of Themiſtocles, yet he ſeems

after a great naval victory, for not purſuing the Perſian fleet; to impeach Ariſtides, the perſon moſt verſed among them in the knowledge and practice of their laws, for a blind ſuſpicion of his acting in an arbitrary way (that is, as they expound it, not in concert with the people;) to impeach Pericles, after all his ſervices, for a few inconſiderable accounts, or *to impeach Phocion, who had been guilty of no other crime but negotiating a treaty for the peace and ſecurity of his country:* what could the continuance of ſuch proceedings end in, but the utter diſcouragement of all virtuous actions and perſons, and conſequently, in the ruin of a ſtate? Therefore, the hiſtorians of thoſe ages ſeldom fail to ſet this matter in all its lights, leaving us the higheſt and moſt honourable *ideas* of thoſe perſons, who ſuffered by the perſecution of the people, together with the fatal conſequences they had, and how the perſecutors ſeldom failed to repent, when it was too late.

Theſe impeachments, perpetually falling upon many of the beſt men, both in Greece and Rome, are a cloud of witneſſes, and examples enow, to diſcourage men of virtue and abilities from engaging in the ſervice of the public; and help, on the other ſide, to introduce the ambitious, the covetous, the ſuperficial, and the ill-deſigning; who are as apt to be bold, and forward and meddling, as the former are to be cautious and modeſt, and reſerved. This was ſo well known

ſeems to be repreſented by Miltiades here; for Themiſtocles was not impeached at all. See p. 242. *Hawkeſ.*

known in Greece, that an eagerneſs after employments in the ſtate, was looked upon, by wiſe men, as the worſt title a man could ſet up; and made Plato ſay, *That if all men were as good as they ought, the quarrel in a commonwealth would be, not as it is now, who* ſhould *be miniſter of ſtate, but who ſhould* not *be ſo.* And Socrates * is introduced by Xenophon, ſeverely chiding a friend of his, for not entering into the public ſervice, when he was every way qualified for it: ſuch a backwardneſs there was at that time among good men to engage with an uſurping people, and a ſet of *pragmatical ambitious orators.* And Diodorus tells us †, that when the *petaliſm* was erected at Syracuſe, in imitation of the *oſtraciſm* ‡ at Athens, it was ſo notoriouſly levelled againſt all who had either birth or merit to recommend them, that whoever poſſeſſed either, withdrew for fear, and would have no concern in public affairs. So that the people themſelves were forced to abrogate it, for fear of bringing all things into confuſion.

There is one thing more to be obſerved, wherein

* Lib. Memorab. † Lib. 11.

‡ *Oſtraciſm* was a kind of popular ſentence to baniſhment, paſſed againſt men whoſe perſonal influence, from whatever cauſe, was thought to render them dangerous to the ſtate: the votes were given by writing the name of the perſon on a ſhell, by the Greeks called ὄστρακον, and caſting the ſhell into an urn.

Petaliſm was a ſentence nearly of the ſame kind; and, as *oſtraciſm* was denominated from the ſhell, on which the name of the ſuſpected party was written, *petaliſm* took its name from πέταλον, a leaf, which the Syracuſans uſed for the ſame purpoſe. *Hawkeſ.*

wherein all the popular impeachments in Greece and Rome ſeem to have agreed; and that was, a notion they had of being concerned, in *point of honour*, to condemn whatever perſon they impeached, however frivolous the articles were, upon which they began, or however weak the ſurmiſes, whereon they were to proceed in their proofs. For, to conceive, that the body of the people could be miſtaken, was an indignity not to be imagined, till the conſequences had convinced them, when it was paſt remedy. And I look upon this as a fate, to which all popular accuſations are ſubject; though I ſhould think that the ſaying, *Vox populi, vox Dei*, ought to be underſtood of the univerſal bent and current of a people, not of the *bare majority* of a few repreſentatives, which is often procured by *little arts*, and great induſtry and application; wherein thoſe, who engage in the purſuits of malice and revenge, are much more ſedulous than ſuch as would prevent them.

From what hath been deduced of the *diſſenſions* in Rome, between the two bodies of patricians and plebeians, ſeveral reflections may be made.

Firſt, That when the balance of power is duly fixed in a ſtate, nothing is more dangerous or unwiſe, than to give way to the *firſt ſteps* of popular encroachments; which is uſually done, either in hopes of procuring eaſe and quiet from ſome vexatious clamour, or elſe *made merchandize, and merely bought and ſold.* This is breaking into a conſtitution, to ſerve a preſent expedient, or ſup-

ply

ply a preſent exigency: the remedy of an empiric, to ſtifle the preſent pain, but with certain proſpect of ſudden and terrible returns. When a child grows eaſy and content by being humoured, and when a lover becomes ſatisfied by ſmall compliances, without further purſuits; then expect to find popular aſſemblies content with ſmall conceſſions. If there could one ſingle example be brought, from the whole compaſs of hiſtory, of any one popular aſſembly, who, after beginning to contend for power, ever ſat down quietly with a certain ſhare; or, if one inſtance could be produced, of a popular aſſembly that ever knew, or propoſed, or declared what ſhare of power was their due: then might there be ſome hopes, that it were a matter to be adjuſted by reaſonings, by conferences, or debates: but ſince that all is manifeſtly otherwiſe, I ſee no other courſe to be taken, in a ſettled ſtate, than a ſteady, conſtant reſolution in thoſe, to whom the reſt of the balance is entruſted, never to give way ſo far to popular clamours, as to make the leaſt breach in the conſtitution, through which a million of abuſes and encroachments will certainly in time force their way.

Again, from this deduction, it will not be difficult to gather and aſſign certain marks of popular encroachments; by obſerving of which, thoſe who hold the balance in a ſtate, may judge of the degrees, and, by early remedies and application, put a ſtop to the fatal conſequences that would otherwiſe enſue. What thoſe marks are, hath been

been at large deduced, and need not be here repeated.

Another conſequence is this: That (with all reſpect for popular aſſemblies be it ſpoken) it is hard to recollect one folly, infirmity, or vice, to which a ſingle man is ſubjected, and from which a body of commons, either collective or repreſented, can be wholly exempt. For, beſides that they are compoſed of men, with all their infirmities about them, they have alſo the ill fortune to be generally led and influenced by the very worſt among themſelves; I mean, *popular orators*, *tribunes*, or, as they are now ſtyled, *great ſpeakers*, *leading men*, and the like. From whence it comes to paſs, that, in their reſults, we have ſometimes found the ſame ſpirit of cruelty and revenge, of malice and pride, the ſame blindneſs, and obſtinacy, and unſteadineſs, the ſame ungovernable rage and anger, the ſame injuſtice, ſophiſtry, and fraud, that ever lodged in the breaſt of any individual.

Again, in all free ſtates, the evil to be avoided, is *tyranny*; that is to ſay, the *ſumma imperii*, or unlimited power ſolely in the hands of the *one*, the *few*, or the *many*. Now, we have ſhewn, that although moſt revolutions of government, in Greece and Rome, began with the tyranny of the people, yet they generally concluded in that of a ſingle perſon; ſo that an uſurping populace is its own *dupe*; a mere under-worker, and a purchaſer in truſt for ſome ſingle tyrant, whoſe ſtate and power they advance to their own ruin, with as blind an inſtinct, as thoſe worms that die with.

weaving

weaving magnificent habits for beings of a ſuperior nature to their own.

CHAP. V.

SOME reflections upon the late public proceedings among us, and that variety of factions into which we are ſtill ſo intricately engaged, gave occaſion to this diſcourſe. I am not conſcious, that I have forced one example, or put it into any other light, than it appeared to me long before I had thought of producing it.

I cannot conclude, without adding ſome particular remarks upon the preſent poſture of affairs and diſpoſitions in this kingdom.

The fate of empire is grown a common-place: that all forms of government, having been inſtituted by men, muſt be mortal, like their authors, and have their periods of duration limited, as well as thoſe of private perſons. This is a truth of vulgar knowledge and obſervation: but there are few who turn their thoughts to examine how thoſe diſeaſes in a ſtate are bred, that haſten its end; which would, however, be a very uſeful enquiry. For, though we cannot prolong the period of a commonwealth beyond the decree of heaven, or the date of its nature, any more than human life beyond the ſtrength of the ſeminal virtue; yet we may manage a ſickly conſtitution, and preſerve a ſtrong one; we may watch and prevent accidents; we may turn off a great blow from without, and purge away an ill humour that is lurking

power could be always held exactly even.
doubt, this is as impossible in practice as tl

It hath an appearance of fatality, and
period of a state approacheth, when a con
of many circumstances, both within and
unite towards its ruin: while the whole
the people are either stupidly negligent,
giving in, with all their might, to th
practices that are working their destructi
see whole bodies of men breaking a conf
by the very same errors that so many h
broke before: to observe opposite parti
can agree in nothing else, yet firmly u
such measures, as must certainly ruin the
try: in short, to be encompassed with the
dangers from without, to be torn by ma
lent factions within; then to be secure a
less, under all this, and to make it the
of our concern: these, and some others th
be named, appear to me to be the mo

ſſolution of government, is more lamentable
; conſequences, than it would be in others.
, I think, a ſtate can never arrive to its pe-
in a more deplorable *criſis*, than at the time
ı ſome *prince in the neighbourhood*, of vaſt
:r and ambition, lies hovering, like a vulture,
:vour, or, at leaſt, diſmember its dying car-
by which means, it becomes only a province
:quiſition to ſome mighty monarchy, with-
hopes of a reſurrection.
know very well, there is a ſet of ſanguine
)ers, who deride and ridicule, in the number
pperies, all ſuch apprehenſions as theſe. They
: it ready in their mouths, that the people of
land are of a genius and temper never to ad-
ſlavery among them; and they are furniſhed
ı a great many common-places upon that ſub-
. But it ſeems to me, that ſuch diſcourſers
eaſon upon ſhort views, and a very moderate
paſs of thought. For I think it a great error,
ount upon the genius of a nation, as a ſtand-
argument in all ages; ſince there is hardly a
of ground in Europe, where the inhabitants
: not, frequently, and entirely, changed their
per and genius. Neither can I ſee any reaſon,
/ the genius of a nation ſhould be more fixed
he point of government, than in their morals,
ir learning, their religion, their common hu-
ur and converſation, their diet, and their com-
xion; which do all notoriouſly vary, almoſt in
ry age, and may, every one of them, have
at effects upon mens notions of government.

Since

Since the Norman conqueſt, the balance of power in England hath often varied, and ſometimes been wholly overturned; the part which the commons had in it, (*that moſt diſputed point*) *in its original, progreſs, and extent*, was, by their own confeſſions, but a very inconſiderable ſhare. Generally ſpeaking, they have been gaining ever ſince, though with frequent interruptions, and ſlow progreſs. The aboliſhing of *villanage*, together with the cuſtom introduced (or permitted) among the nobles, of ſelling their lands in the reign of Henry VII. was a mighty addition to the power of the commons: yet, I think, a much greater happened in the time of his ſucceſſor, at the diſſolution of the abbeys; for this turned the *clergy* wholly out of the ſcale, who had ſo long filled it; and placed the *commons* in their ſtead; who, in a few years, became poſſeſſed of vaſt quantities of thoſe and other lands, by grant or purchaſe. About the middle of Q. Elizabeth's reign, I take the power between the nobles and the commons to have been in more equal balance, than it was ever before or ſince. But then, or ſoon after, aroſe a faction in England, which, under the name of *puritan*, began to grow popular, by moulding up their new ſchemes of religion, with republican principles in government; and, gaining upon the *prerogative*, as well as the *nobles*, under ſeveral denominations, for the ſpace of about ſixty years, did at laſt overthrow the conſtitution; and, according to the uſual courſe

of

of ſuch revolutions, did introduce a tyranny, firſt of the people, and then of a ſingle perſon.

In a ſhort time after, the old government was revived. But the progreſs of affairs, for almoſt thirty years, under the reigns of two weak princes, * is a ſubject of a very different nature; when the balance was in danger to be overturned by the hands that held it, which was at laſt very ſeaſonably prevented by the late revolution. However, as it is the talent of human nature, to run from one extreme to another, ſo in a very few years we have made mighty leaps from prerogative heights to the depths of popularity, and, I doubt, to the very laſt degree that our conſtitution will bear. It were to be wiſhed, that the moſt auguſt aſſembly of the commons would pleaſe to form a *pandect* of their own power and privileges, to be confirmed by the entire legiſlative authority, and that in as ſolemn a manner (if they pleaſe) as the *magna charta*. But to fix one foot of their compaſs wherever they think fit, and extend the other to ſuch terrible lengths, without deſcribing any circumference at all, is to leave us and themſelves in a very uncertain ſtate, and in a ſort of *rotation*, that the author † of the

* Charles II. and James II.

† Mr. James Harrington, ſome time in the ſervice of King Charles I.; after whoſe death, he drew up, and printed a form of popular government, entitled, *The commonwealth of Oceana*: he endeavoured likewiſe to promote this ſcheme, by public diſcourſes, at a nightly meeting of ſeveral curious gentlemen in New-Palace-yard, Weſtminſter. This club was called the *Rota*; and Mr.

Oceana never dreamed on. I believe, the moſt hardy tribune will not venture to affirm at preſent, that any juſt fears of encroachment are given us from the regal power, or the *few*: and, is it then impoſſible to err on the other ſide? How far muſt we proceed, or where ſhall we ſtop? *The raging of the ſea*, and *the madneſs of the people*, are put together in holy writ; and it is God alone, who can ſay to either, *Hitherto ſhalt thou paſs, and no further.*

The balance of power in a limited ſtate, is of ſuch abſolute neceſſity, that Cromwell himſelf, before he had perfectly confirmed his tyranny, having ſome occaſions for the appearance of a parliament, was forced to create and erect an entire new Houſe of Lords, ſuch as it was, for a counterpoiſe to the Commons. And indeed, conſidering the vileneſs of the clay, I have ſometimes wondered, that no tribune of that age durſt ever venture to aſk the *potter*, *What doſt thou make?* But it was then about the laſt act of a popular uſurpation; and *fate*, or *Cromwell*, had already prepared them for that of a ſingle perſon.

I have been often amazed at the rude, paſſionate, and miſtaken reſults, which have, at certain times, fallen from great aſſemblies, both ancient and modern, and of other countries as well as our own. This gave me the opinion, I mentioned

Mr. Henry Nevil, one of its members, propoſed to the then Houſe of Commons, that a third part of the ſenate ſhould *rot* out by ballot every year, and be incapable of being elected again for three years to come. *Hawkeſ.*

tioned a while ago, That public conventions are liable to all the infirmities, follies, and vices of private men. To which, if there be any exception, it muſt be of ſuch aſſemblies, who act by *univerſal concert, upon public principles, and for public ends;* ſuch as proceed upon debates without *unbecoming warmths,* or *influence from particular leaders and inflamers;* ſuch, whoſe members, inſtead of *canvaſſing, to procure majorities for their private opinions, are ready to comply with general ſober reſults, though contrary to their own ſentiments.* Whatever aſſemblies act by theſe, and other methods of the like nature, muſt be allowed to be exempt from ſeveral imperfections, to which particular men are ſubjected. But I think the ſource of moſt miſtakes and miſcarriages in matters debated by public aſſemblies, ariſeth from the influence of private perſons upon great numbers, ſtyled, in common phraſe, *leading men and parties.* And therefore, when we ſometimes meet a *few words* put together, which is called the *vote* or *reſolution* of an aſſembly, and which we cannot poſſibly reconcile to *prudence* or *public good,* it is moſt charitable to conjecture, that ſuch a vote has been conceived, and born and bred in a private brain, afterwards raiſed and ſupported by an obſequious party, and then, with uſual methods, confirmed by an *artificial* majority. For, let us ſuppoſe five hundred men, mixed in point of ſenſe and honeſty, as uſually aſſemblies are; and let us ſuppoſe theſe men propoſing, debating, reſolving, voting, according to the mere natural

motions of their own little or much reaſon and underſtandings. I do allow, that abundance of indigeſted abortive, many pernicious and fooliſh enterprizes would ariſe, and float a few minutes; but then they will die and diſappear. Reaſon muſt be ſtill in behalf of human kind, but common ſenſe and plain reaſon, while men are disengaged from acquired opinions, will ever have ſome general influence upon their minds, whereas, the ſpecies of folly and vice are infinite, and ſo different in every individual, that they could never procure a majority, if other corruptions did not enter, to pervert mens underſtandings, and miſguide their wills.

To deſcribe how parties are bred in an aſſembly, would be a work too difficult at preſent, and perhaps not altogether ſafe. *Periculoſæ plenum opus aleæ.* Whether thoſe, who are leaders, uſually arrive at that ſtation, more by a ſort of inſtinct, or ſecret compoſition of their nature, or influence of the ſtars, than by the poſſeſſion of any great abilities, may be a point of much diſpute; but when the leader is once fixed, there will never fail to be followers. And man is ſo apt to *imitate*, ſo much of the nature of *ſheep*, *imitatores, ſervum pecus*, that whoever is ſo bold to give the firſt *great leap over the heads of thoſe about him*, though he be the worſt of the flock, ſhall be quickly followed by the reſt. Beſides, when parties are once formed, the ſtragglers look ſo ridiculous, and become ſo inſignificant, that they have no other way, but to run into the

herd,

herd, which at leaſt will hide and protect them; and where, to be much conſidered, requires only to be very violent.

But there is one circumſtance, with relation to parties, which I take to be, of all others, moſt pernicious in a ſtate; and I would be glad any partizan would help me to a tolerable reaſon, that becauſe Clodius and Curio happen to agree with me in a few ſingular notions, I muſt therefore blindly follow them in all: or, to ſtate it at beſt, that becauſe Bibulus the *party-man*, is perſuaded that Clodius and Curio do really propoſe the good of their country as their chief end; therefore Bibulus ſhall be wholly guided and governed by them, in the means and meaſures towards it. Is it enough for Bibulus, and the reſt of the herd, to ſay, without further examining, *I am of the ſide with Clodius*, or, *I vote with Curio?* are theſe proper methods to form and make up what they think fit to call the *united wiſdom of the nation?* Is it not poſſible, that, upon ſome occaſion, Clodius may be bold and inſolent, borne away by his paſſion, malicious, and revengeful? that Curio may be corrupt, and expoſe to ſale his tongue, or his pen? I conceive it far below the dignity both of human nature, and human reaſon, to be engaged in any party, the moſt plauſible ſoever, upon ſuch ſervile conditions.

This influence of *one* upon *many*, which ſeems to be as great in a people *repreſented*, as it was of old in the commons *collective*, together with the conſequences it hath had upon the legiſlature,

hath given me frequent occaſion to reflect upon what Diodorus tells us of one Charondas, a law-giver to the Sybarites, an ancient people of Italy, who was ſo averſe from all innovation, eſpecially when it was to proceed from particular perſons, (and, I ſuppoſe, that he might put it out of the power of men, fond of their own notions, to diſturb the conſtitution at their pleaſures, by advancing private ſchemes) that he provided a ſtatute, that whoever propoſed any alteration to be made, ſhould ſtep out and do it with a rope about his neck: if the matter propoſed, were generally approved, then it ſhould paſs into a law; if it went in the negative, the propoſer to be immediately *hanged*. Great miniſters may talk of what projects they pleaſe; but I am deceived, if a more effectual one could ever be found for *taking off* (as the preſent phraſe is) thoſe hot, unquiet ſpirits, who diſturb aſſemblies, and obſtruct public affairs, by gratifying their pride, their malice, their ambition, or their avarice.

Thoſe who, in a late reign, began the diſtinction between the *perſonal* and *politic* capacity, ſeem to have had reaſon, if they judged of princes by themſelves; for, I think, there is hardly to be found, through all nature, a greater difference between two things, than there is between a repreſenting commoner, in the function of his public calling, and the ſame perſon, when he acts in the common offices of life. Here, he allows himſelf to be upon a level with the reſt of mortals: here, he follows his own reaſon, and his own way; and

and rather affects a ſingularity in his actions and thoughts, than ſervilely to copy either, from the wiſeſt of his neighbours. In ſhort, here, his folly, and his wiſdom, his reaſon and his paſſions, are all of his own growth, not the echo or infuſion of other men. But, when he is got near the walls of his aſſembly, he aſſumes and affects an entire ſet of very different airs; he conceives himſelf a being of a ſuperior nature to thoſe *without*, and acting in a ſphere, where the vulgar methods for the conduct of human life can be of no uſe. He is liſted in a party, where he neither knows the temper, nor deſigns, nor, perhaps, the perſon of his leader, but whoſe opinions he follows and maintains, with a zeal and faith as violent, as a young ſcholar does thoſe of a philoſopher, whoſe ſect he is taught to profeſs. He hath neither opinions, nor thoughts, nor actions, nor talk, that he can call his own, but all conveyed to him by his leader, as wind is through an organ. The nouriſhment he receives, hath been not only *chewed*, but *digeſted*, before it comes into his mouth. Thus inſtructed, he follows the *party*, right or wrong, through all its ſentiments, and acquires a courage and ſtiffneſs of opinion, not at all congenial with him.

This encourages me to hope, that, during the preſent lucid interval, the members retired to their homes, may ſuſpend a while their *acquired* complexions, and, taught by the calmneſs of the ſcene and the ſeaſon, reaſſume the *native* ſedateneſs of their temper. If this ſhould be ſo, it would

would be wiſe in them, as individual and private mortals, to look back a little upon the ſtorms they have *raiſed*, as well as thoſe they have *eſcaped*: to reflect, that they have been authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a houſe of Commons to loſe the univerſal favour of the number they repreſent: to obſerve, how thoſe, whom they thought fit to perſecute for righteouſneſs ſake, have been openly careſſed by the people; and to remember, how themſelves ſat in fear of their perſons from popular rage. Now, if they would know the ſecret of all this unprecedented proceeding in their *maſters*, they muſt not impute it to their freedom in debate, or declaring their opinions, but to that unparliamentary abuſe of *ſetting individuals upon their ſhoulders*, who were hated by God and man. For, it ſeems, the maſs of the people, in ſuch conjunctures as this, have opened their eyes, and will not endure to be governed by Clodius and Curio, at the head of their myrmidons, though theſe be ever ſo numerous, and compoſed of their own repreſentatives.

This averſion of the people, againſt the late proceedings of the Commons, is an accident, that, if it laſt a while, might be improved to good uſes, for ſetting the balance of power a little more upon an equality, than their late meaſures ſeem to promiſe or admit. This accident may be imputed to two cauſes: the firſt is, an univerſal fear and apprehenſion of the greatneſs and power of France, whereof the people in general ſeem to be very much and juſtly poſſeſſed; and, therefore, cannot

ıot but reſent, to ſee it, in ſo critical a junc-
, wholly laid aſide by their miniſters, the
ımons. The other cauſe, is a great love and
: of gratitude in the people, towards their
:nt King, grounded upon a long opinion and
rience of his merit, as well as conceſſions to
ıeir reaſonable deſires; ſo that it is, for ſome
, they have begun to ſay, and to fetch in-
:es, where he hath, in many things, been
ly uſed. How long theſe humours may laſt,
paſſions are momentary, and eſpecially thoſe
multitude) or what conſequences they may
uce, a little time will diſcover. But, when-
it comes to paſs, that a popular aſſembly,
from ſuch obſtructions, and already poſſeſſed
ıore power than an equal balance will allow,
continue to think they have not enough,
by cramping the hand that holds the balance,
by *impeachments* or *diſſenſions* with the nobles,
avour ſtill for more; I cannot poſſibly ſee, in
ommon courſe of things, how the ſame cauſes
produce different effects and conſequences a-
g us, from what they did in Greece and
ıe.

THE

THE PUBLIC SPIRIT OF THE WHIGS,

Set forth in their generous Encouragement of the Author of the CRISIS*.

With ſome Obſervations on the ſeaſonableneſs, candour, erudition, and ſtyle of that Treatiſe.

[Upon the firſt publication of this pamphlet, all the Scots Lords, then in London, went in a body, and complained to Queen ANNE, of the affront put on them, and their nation, by the author of this treatiſe. Whereupon, a proclamation was publiſhed by her Majeſty, offering a reward of 300 l. to diſcover him. The reaſon for offering ſo ſmall a ſum, was, that the Queen and miniſtry had no deſire to have the author taken into cuſtody.]

I Cannot, without ſome envy, and a juſt reſentment againſt the oppoſite conduct of others, reflect upon that generoſity and tenderneſs, wherewith the heads and principal members of a ſtruggling

* It was written in the year 1712, by the conſent, if not the encouragement of the miniſters of that æra, in anſwer to the Criſis, by Sir Richard Steele. *Orrery.*

The noble commentator, who appears, in another inſtance, to have given an account of the works of his author, from a peruſal of no more than a title † in the Dublin editions, has been betrayed into miſtakes, which, if he had read the piece, he would have eſcaped. This tract, in the title which his Lordſhip conſulted, is ſaid to have been written in the year 1712: but, in that part of it which moſt deſerves the notice of a critic, becauſe it occaſioned a complaint in the houſe of Lords, mention is made

† *See the note on Voyage to Brobdingnag, chap.* 6. *Vol V.*

ruggling faction, treat thoſe who will undertake hold a pen in their defence. And the beha-our of theſe patrons, is yet the more laudable, cauſe the benefits they confer, are almoſt *gratis*. any of their labourers can ſcratch out a pam-let, they deſire no more; there is no queſtion ered about the wit, the ſtyle, the argument. t a pamphlet come out, upon demand, in a oper juncture, you ſhall be well and certainly id; you ſhall be paid beforehand; every one the party who is able to read, and can ſpare a illing, ſhall be a ſubſcriber; ſeveral thouſands each production ſhall be ſent among their ends through the kingdom; the work ſhall be ported admirable, ſublime, unanſwerable; ſhall rve to raiſe the ſinking clamours, and confirm e ſcandal of introducing popery and the pre-nder, upon the Queen and her miniſters.

Among the preſent writers on that ſide, I can collect but three of any great diſtinction, hich are, the *Flying Poſt*, Mr. Dunton, and the author

ide of a motion to diſſolve the union, which did not happen 1713. The complaint, which is ſaid in the note to happen on the *firſt* publication, was made the 2d of March 1713-14, d the pamphlet, according to the cuſtom of printers, was ed 1714. *Hawkeſ.*

In the ſtyle and conduct, this is one of the boldeſt, as well as e of the moſt maſterly tracts that Swift ever wrote. And I not help obſerving, that, on whatever topic he employs his , the ſubject which he treats of, is always ſo excellently ma-ged, as to ſeem to have been the whole ſtudy and application his life: ſo that he appears the greateſt maſter, through a ater variety of materials, than perhaps have been diſcuſſed by y other author. *Orrery.*

more voluminous in his productions: I
having employed his ſtudies in ſo great
of other ſubjects, he hath, I think, b
turned his genius to politics. His fam
entitled, *Neck or nothing*, muſt be allow
the ſhrewdeſt piece, and written with
ſpirit of any, which hath appeared from
ſince the change of the miniſtry: it is, i
moſt cutting ſatire upon the Lord Treaſ
Lord Bolingbroke; and I wonder none
friends ever undertook to anſwer it. I
was at firſt of the ſame opinion with ſeve
judges, who, from the ſtyle and manner,
it to have iſſued from the ſharp pen of
of Nottingham; and I am ſtill apt to
might receive his Lordſhip's laſt hand. T
and principal of this triumvirate, is the a
the *Criſis*; who, although he muſt yiel
Flying Poſt, in knowledge of the world,
in politics, and to Mr. Dunton, in kee
ſatire, and variety of reading, hath not

or claſs to either; provided he would a
regard the propriety and diſpoſition of his
, conſult the grammatical part, and get ſome
nation in the ſubject he intends to handle.
iitting the generous countenance and en-
gement that have been ſhewn to the perſons
roductions of the two former authors, I
here only conſider the great favour confer-
pon the laſt. It hath been advertiſed for
l months in *the Engliſhman*, * and other
s, that a pamphlet, called the *Criſis*, ſhould
bliſhed at a proper time, in order to open
res of the nation. It was propoſed to be
d by ſubſcription, price a ſhilling. This
little out of form; becauſe ſubſcriptions
ually begged only for books of great price,
ich as are not likely to have a general ſale.
e was likewiſe given of what this pamphlet
l contain; only an extract from certain acts
liament relating to the ſucceſſion, which at
nuſt ſink nine-pence in the ſhilling, and
but three-pence for the author's political
tions; ſo that nothing very wonderful or
ve could be reaſonably expected from this
mance. But, a work was to be done, a
writer to be encouraged, and accordingly
thouſand copies were beſpoke. Neither
this be ſufficient; for when we expected to
our bundles delivered us, all was ſtopt; the
s to the cauſe ſprang a new project; and it

paper written by the ſame author, in favour of the pre-
adminiſtration. *Hawkeſ.*

was advertiſed that the Criſis could not appear, till the ladies had ſhewn their zeal againſt the Pretender, as well as the men; againſt the Pretender in the bloom of his youth, reported to be handſome, and endued with an underſtanding exactly of a ſize to pleaſe the ſex. I ſhould be glad to have ſeen a printed liſt of the fair ſubſcribers prefixed to this pamphlet; by which the Chevalier might know, he was ſo far from *pretending* to a monarchy here, that he could not ſo much as *pretend* to a miſtreſs.

At the deſtined period, the firſt news we hear, is of a huge train of dukes, earls, viſcounts, barons, knights, eſquires, gentlemen, and others, going to Sam. Buckley's, the publiſher of the Criſis, to fetch home their cargoes, in order to tranſmit them by dozens, ſcores, and hundreds, into the ſeveral counties, and thereby to prepare the wills and underſtandings of their friends againſt the approaching ſeſſions. Aſk any of them, whether they have read it? they will anſwer, No; but they have ſent it every-where, and it will do a world of good. It is a pamphlet, and a pamphlet, they hear, againſt the miniſtry; talks of ſlavery, France, and the Pretender: they deſire no more: it will ſettle the wavering, confirm the doubtful, inſtruct the ignorant, inflame the clamorous, although it never be once looked into. I am told by thoſe who are expert in the trade, that the author and bookſeller of this twelve-penny treatiſe will be greater gainers, than from one edition of any folio that hath been

been publiſhed theſe twenty years. What needy writer would not ſolicit to work under ſuch maſters, who will pay us before-hand, take off as much of our ware as we pleaſe at our own rates, and trouble not themſelves to examine, either before or after they have bought it, whether it be ſtaple or no?

But in order to illuſtrate the implicit munificence of theſe noble patrons, I cannot take a more effectual method, than by examining the production itſelf; by which we ſhall eaſily find, that it was never intended, further than from the noiſe, the bulk, and the title of *Criſis*, to do any ſervice to the factious cauſe. The entire piece conſiſts of a title page, a dedication to the clergy, a preface, an extract from certain acts of parliament, and about ten pages of dry reflections on the proceedings of the Queen and her ſervants; which his coadjutors, the Earl of Nottingham, Mr. Dunton, and the Flying Poſt, had long ago ſet before us in a much clearer light.

In popiſh countries, when ſome impoſtor cries out, *A miracle! a miracle!* it is not done with a hope or intention of converting heretics, but confirming the deluded vulgar in their errors; and ſo the cry goes round, without examining into the cheat. Thus, the whigs among us, give out the cry, *A pamphlet! a pamphlet! The criſis! the criſis!* not with a view of convincing their adverſaries, but to raiſe the ſpirits of their friends, recal their ſtragglers, and unite their numbers by ſound and impudence; as bees aſ-

ſemble and cling together by the noiſe of braſs.

That no other effect could be imagined, or hoped for, by the publication of this timely treatiſe, will be manifeſt from ſome obvious reflections upon the ſeveral parts of it; wherein the follies, the falſhoods, or the abſurdities, appear ſo frequent, that they may boldly contend for number with the lines.

When the hawker holds this pamphlet towards you, the firſt words you perceive, are, *The criſis*; or, *A diſcourſe*, &c. The interpreter of Suidas gives four tranſlations of the word *criſis*; any of which may be as properly applied to this author's letter to the bailiff of Stockbridge. * Next, what he calls *a diſcourſe*, conſiſts only of two pages, prefixed to twenty-two more, which contain extracts from acts of parliament; for as to the twelve laſt pages, they are provided for by themſelves in the title, under the name of *ſome ſeaſonable remarks on the danger of a* popiſh *ſucceſſor*. Another circumſtance, worthy of our information, in the title-page, is, that the crown hath been ſettled *by previous acts*. I never heard of any act of parliament that was not previous to what it enacted, unleſs thoſe two, by which the Earl of Strafford and Sir John Fenwick loſt their heads, may paſs for exceptions. *A diſcourſe, repreſenting from the moſt authentic records*, &c. He hath borrowed this expreſſion from ſome writer, who probably

* Steele addreſſed a letter to the Bailiff of Stockbridge, who appears to have been returning officer for this borough, which Steele repreſented in parliament. *Hawkes.*

bably underſtood the words; but this gentleman hath altogether miſapplied them; and, under favour, he is wholly miſtaken; for a heap of extracts from ſeveral acts of parliament cannot be called a diſcourſe; neither do I believe he copied them from the moſt authentic records, which, as I take it, are lodged in the Tower, but out of ſome common printed copy. I grant, there is nothing material in all this, further than to ſhew the generoſity of our adverſaries, in encouraging a writer, who cannot furniſh out ſo much as a title page with propriety or common ſenſe.

Next follows the dedication to the clergy of the church of England, wherein the modeſty and the meaning of the firſt paragraphs are hardly to be matched. He tells them, he hath made a *comment upon the acts of ſettlement*, which he *lays before them, and conjures them to recommend in their writings and diſcourſes to their fellow ſubjects*: and he doth all this, *out of a juſt deference to their great power and influence*. This is the right whig ſcheme, of directing the clergy what to preach. The Archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction extends no farther than over his own province; but the author of the Criſis conſtitutes himſelf vicar-general over the whole clergy of the church of England. The biſhops, in their letters or ſpeeches to their own clergy, proceed no further than to *exhortation*; but this writer *conjures* the whole clergy of the church, to *recommend* his *comment upon the laws* of the land, *in their writings and diſcourſes*. I would fain know, who made him a

commentator upon the laws of the land: after which, it will be time enough to ask him, by what authority he directs the clergy to *recommend his* comments from the pulpit or the press?

He tells the clergy, *there are two circumstances which place the minds of the people under their direction*: the first circumstance, is their education; the second circumstance, is the tenths of our lands. This last, according to the Latin phrase, is spoken *ad invidiam*; for he knows well enough, they have not a twentieth: but if you take it in his own way, the landlord has nine parts in ten of the peoples minds under his direction. Upon this rock the author before us is perpetually splitting, as often as he ventures out beyond the narrow bounds of his literature. He hath a confused remembrance of words since he left the university, but hath lost half their meaning, and puts them together with no regard, except to their cadence; as I remember a fellow nailed up maps in a gentleman's closet, some sideling, others upside down, the better to adjust them to the pannels.

I am sensible it is of little consequence to their cause, whether this defender of it understands grammar or no; and, if what he would fain say, discovered him to be a well-wisher to reason or truth, I would be ready to make large allowances. But when, with great difficulty, I descry a composition of rancour and falsehood, intermixed with plausible nonsense, I feel a struggle between contempt and indignation, at seeing the character of

a *censor*,

a *cenſor*, a *guardian*, an *Engliſhman*, a *commentator* on the *laws*, an *inſtructor* of the *clergy*, aſſumed by a child of obſcurity, without one ſingle qualification to ſupport them.

This writer, who either affects, or is commanded of late to copy after the Bp. of Sarum, hath, out of the pregnancy of his invention, found out an old way of inſinuating the groſſeſt reflections under the appearance of admonitions; and is ſo judicious a follower of the prelate, that he taxes the clergy for *inflaming their people with apprehenſions of danger to them and their conſtitution, from men who are innocent of ſuch deſigns*: when he muſt needs confeſs, the whole *deſign* of his pamphlet, is *to inflame the people with apprehenſions of danger* from the preſent miniſtry, whom *we* believe to be at leaſt as *innocent men* as the laſt.

What ſhall I ſay to a pamphlet, where the malice and falſhood of every line would require an anſwer, and where the dulneſs and abſurdities will not deſerve one?

By his pretending to have always maintained an inviolable reſpect to the clergy, he would inſinuate, that thoſe papers among the *Tatlers* and *Spectators*, where the whole order is abuſed, were not his own. I will appeal to all who know the flatneſs of his ſtyle, and the barrenneſs of his invention, whether he doth not groſly prevaricate? Was he ever able to walk without leading-ſtrings, or ſwim without bladders, without being diſcovered by his hobbling and his ſinking? hath he adhered to his character in his paper called the *Engliſhman*,

liſhman, whereof he is allowed to be ſole without any competition? what does he t the letter ſigned by himſelf, which relates tc worth, * in whoſe defence he affronts th convocation of Ireland?

It is a wiſe maxim, that becauſe the cl no civil lawyers, they ought not to prea dience to governors; and therefore, the not to preach temperance, becauſe they phyſicians. Examine all this author's w and then point me out a divine, who knov of the conſtitution of England than he; thoſe many egregious blunders in his late where he pretends to dabble in the ſubjec

But the clergy have, it ſeems, imbibed t tions of power and obedience, abhorrent f laws, *from the pompous ideas of imperial and the ſubmiſſion to abſolute emperors*. This ignorance, below a ſchool-boy in his Luc rus. The Roman hiſtory wherein lads ſtructed, reacheth little above eight hundre and the authors do every where inſtil re principles; and from the account of twelve of the firſt emperors, we learn tc deteſtation againſt tyranny. The Greel this point yet a great deal higher, whi

* The right honourable Robert Moleſworth, Eſq; privy council, and member of the Houſe of Commons peer by K. George I. The lower houſe of convoca preferred a complaint againſt him for diſreſpectful wo being repreſented in England, he was removed from tl to juſtify him againſt this complaint, was the ſubject letter. *Hawkeſ.*

can be ignorant of, who hath read or heard them quoted. This gave Hobbes the occaſion of advancing a poſition directly contrary, That the youth of England were corrupted in their political principles, by reading the hiſtories of Rome and Greece; which, having been written under republics, taught the readers to have ill notions of monarchy. In this aſſertion, there was ſomething ſpecious; but that advanced by the Criſis, could only iſſue from the profoundeſt ignorance.

But, would you know his ſcheme of education for young gentlemen at the univerſity? it is, That they ſhould ſpend their time in peruſing thoſe acts of parliament, whereof his pamphlet is an extract, which *if it had been done, the kingdom would not be in its preſent condition; but every member ſent into the world, thus inſtructed, ſince the revolution, would have been an advocate for our rights and liberties.*

Here now is a project for getting more money by the Criſis; to have it read by tutors in the univerſities. I thoroughly agree with him, that if our ſtudents had been thus employed for twenty years paſt, *the kingdom had not been in its preſent condition:* but we have too many of ſuch proficients already among the young nobility and gentry, who have gathered up their politics from chocolate houſes and factious clubs; and who, if they had ſpent their time in hard ſtudy at Oxford or Cambridge, we might indeed have ſaid, that the factious part of this kingdom *had not been in its preſent condition*, or have ſuffered themſelves

to

to be taught, that a few acts of parliament, relating to the ſucceſſion, are preferable to all other *civil inſtitutions* whatſoever. Neither did I ever before hear, that an act of parliament relating to one particular point, could be called a civil conſtitution.

He ſpends almoſt a quarto page, in telling the clergy, that they will be certainly perjured, if they bring in the Pretender, whom they have abjured; and he wiſely reminds them, that they have ſworn, without equivocation or mental reſervation; otherwiſe, the clergy might think, that as ſoon as they received the Pretender, and turned Papiſts, they would be free from their oath.

This honeſt, civil, ingenious gentleman, knows in his conſcience, that there are not ten clergymen in England, except non-jurors, who do not abhor the thoughts of the Pretender reigning over us, much more than himſelf. But this is the ſpittle of the Bp. of Sarum, * which our author licks up, and ſwallows, and then coughs out again, with an addition of his own phlegm. I would fain ſuppoſe the body of the clergy were to return an anſwer, by one of their members, to theſe worthy counſellors. I conceive, it might be in the following terms:

" *My Lord and Gentleman,*

" THE clergy command me to give you thanks " for your advice; and if they knew any crimes, " from which either of you were as free, as they " are from thoſe which you ſo earneſtly exhort them

* Dr. Gilbert Burnet.

"them to avoid, they would return your favour "as near as poſſible in the ſame ſtyle and manner. "However, that your advice may not be wholly "loſt, particularly that part of it which relates to "the Pretender, they deſire you would apply it to "more proper perſons. Look among your own "leaders; examine which of them engaged in a "plot to reſtore the late K. James, and received "pardons under his ſeal; examine which of them "have been ſince tampering with his pretended "ſon, and, to gratify their ambition, their ava-"rice, their malice, and revenge, are now will-"ing to reſtore him at the expence of the religion "and liberty of their country. Retire, good my "Lord, with your pupil, and let us hear no more of "theſe hypocritical inſinuations, leſt the Queen and "miniſters, who have been hitherto content with "only *diſappointing* the lurking villanies of your "faction, may be at laſt provoked to *expoſe* them."

But his reſpect for the clergy is ſuch, that he doth not inſinuate as if they really had theſe evil diſpoſitions; he only *inſinuates*, that they give *too much cauſe* for ſuch *inſinuations*.

I will, upon occaſion, ſtrip ſome of his *inſinuations* from their generality and ſoleciſms, and drag them into the light. His dedication to the clergy is full of them, becauſe here he endeavours to mould up his rancour and civility together; by which conſtraint, he is obliged to ſhorten his paragraphs, and to place them in ſuch a light, that they obſcure one another. Suppoſing, therefore, that I have ſcraped off his good manners, in order

to

to come at his meaning, which lies under; he tells the clergy, that the favour of the Queen and her miniſters, is but a *colour of zeal towards them*; that the people were deluded by a groundleſs cry of the church's danger at Sacheverel's trial; that the clergy, as they are *men of ſenſe and honour*, ought to preach this truth to their ſeveral congregations; and let them know, that the true deſign of the preſent men in power, in that, and all their proceedings ſince, in favour of the church, was, to bring in Popery, France, and the Pretender, and to enſlave all Europe, contrary to the *laws of our country, the power of the legiſlature, the faith of nations, and the honour of God.*

I cannot ſee why the clergy, as *men of ſenſe, and men of honour* (for he appeals not to them as men of *religion*) ſhould not be allowed to know when they are in danger, and be able to gueſs whence it comes, and who are their protectors. The deſign of their deſtruction, indeed, may have been projected in the dark; but when all was ripe, their enemies proceeded to ſo many overt acts in the face of the nation, that it was obvious to the meaneſt people, who wanted no other motives to rouſe them. On the other ſide, can this author, or the wiſeſt of his faction, aſſign one ſingle act of the preſent miniſtry, any way tending towards bringing in the Pretender, or to weaken the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover? Obſerve then the reaſonableneſs of this gentleman's advice: the clergy, the gentry, and the common people had the utmoſt apprehenſions of danger to the church under

under the late miniſtry; yet then it was the greateſt impiety to *inflame the people with any ſuch apprehenſions*. His danger of a *popiſh* ſucceſſor, from any ſteps of the preſent miniſtry, is an artificial calumny, raiſed and ſpread againſt the conviction of inventors, pretended to be believed only by thoſe, who abhor the conſtitution in church and ſtate; an obdurate faction, who compaſs heaven and earth to reſtore themſelves upon the ruin of their country: yet here, our author *exhorts the clergy* to preach up this imaginary danger to their people, and diſturb the public peace with his ſtrained ſeditious comments.

But how comes this gracious licence to the clergy, from the *whigs*, to concern themſelves with politics of any ſort, although it be only the gloſſes and comments of Mr. Steele? The ſpeeches of the managers at Sacheverel's trial, particularly thoſe of Stanhope, Lechmere, King, Parker, and ſome others *, ſeemed to deliver a different doctrine. Nay, this very dedication complains of *ſome in holy orders, who have made the conſtitution of their country* (in which and the *coptic* Mr. Steele is equally ſkilled) *a very little part of their ſtudy, and yet made obedience and government the frequent ſubjects of their diſcourſes*. This difficulty is eaſily ſolved; for, by *politics*, they mean *obedience*. Mr. Hoadley †, who is a champion for reſiſtance, was

* Theſe perſons were created peers by King George I.

† Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, created biſhop of Bangor by King George I. in 1715; tranſlated to Hereford in 1721, to Saliſbury in 1723, and to Wincheſter in 1734.

never charged with meddling out of his function: Hugh Peters, and his brethren, in the times of uſurpation, had full liberty to preach up ſedition and rebellion; and ſo here, Mr. Steele iſſues out his licence to the clergy, to preach up the *danger of a popiſh pretender*, in defiance of the QUEEN and her adminiſtration.

Every whiffler in a laced coat, who frequents the chocolate-houſe, and is able to ſpell the title of a pamphlet, ſhall talk of the conſtitution with as much plauſibility as this very ſolemn writer, and, with as good a grace, blame the clergy for meddling with politics, which they do not underſtand. I have known many of theſe able politicians furniſhed, before they were of age, with all the neceſſary topics of their faction, and, by the help of about twenty polyſyllables, capable of maintaining an argument, that would ſhine in the Criſis; whoſe author gathered up his little ſtock from the ſame ſchools, and hath written from no other fund.

But, after all, it is not clear to me, whether this gentleman addreſſeth himſelf to the clergy of England in general, or only to thoſe very few (hardly enow, in caſe of a change, to ſupply the mortality of thoſe *ſelf-denying prelates* he celebrates) who are in his principles, and, among theſe, only ſuch as live in and about London; which, probably, will reduce the number to about half a dozen at moſt. I ſhould incline to gueſs the latter; becauſe he tells them, they *are ſurrounded by a learned, wealthy, knowing gentry, who know*

know with what firmneſs, ſelf-denial, and charity, the biſhops adhered to the public cauſe, and what contumelies thoſe clergymen have undergone, &c. *who adhered to the cauſe of truth.* By thoſe terms, *the public cauſe, and the cauſe of truth*, he underſtands the *cauſe* of the Whigs, in oppoſition to the QUEEN and her ſervants: therefore, by the *learned, wealthy, and knowing gentry*, he muſt underſtand, the *bank*, and *Eaſt-India company*, and thoſe other merchants or citizens within the bills of mortality, who have been ſtrenuous againſt the church and crown, and whoſe ſpirit of faction hath lately got the better of their intereſt. For, let him ſearch all the reſt of the kingdom, he will find the *ſurrounded* clergy, and the *ſurrounding* gentry, wholly ſtrangers to the merits of thoſe prelates, and adhering to a very different *cauſe of truth*; as will ſoon, I hope, be manifeſt, by a fair appeal to the repreſentatives of both.

It was very unneceſſary in this writer, to beſpeak the treatment of *contempt and deriſion*, which the clergy are to expect from this faction, whenever they come into power. I believe that venerable body is in very little concern, after what manner their moſt mortal enemies intend to *treat* them, whenever it ſhall pleaſe God, for our ſins, to viſit us with ſo fatal an event; which I hope it will be the united endeavours both of clergy and laity to hinder. It would be ſome ſupport to this hope, if I could have any opinion of his predicting talent (which ſome have aſcribed to people of this author's character) where he tells us, that

noiſe and wrath will not always paſs for zeal. What other inſtances of zeal hath this gentleman, or the reſt of his party, been able to produce? if clamour be *noiſe*, it it is but opening our ears to know from what ſide it comes; and, if ſedition, ſcurrility, ſlander, and calumny, be the fruit of *wrath*, read the pamphlets and papers iſſuing from the *zealots* of that faction, or viſit their clubs and coffee-houſes, in order to form a judgment of the three.

When Mr. Steele tells us, *we have religion, that wants no ſupport from the enlargement of ſecular power, but is well ſupported by the wiſdom and piety of its preachers, and its own native truth;* it would be good to know what religion he profeſſeth: for the clergy, to whom he ſpeaks, will never allow him a member of the church of England. They cannot agree, that the *truth* of the goſpel, and the *piety* and *wiſdom* of its preachers, are a ſufficient *ſupport*, in an evil age, againſt infidelity, faction, and vice, without the aſſiſtance of *ſecular power*; unleſs God would pleaſe to confer the gift of miracles on thoſe who wait at the altar. I believe they venture to go a little further, and think, that, upon ſome occaſions, they want a little *enlargement of aſſiſtance from the ſecular power*, againſt *Atheiſts*, *Deiſts*, *Socinians*, and other heretics. Every firſt Sunday in Lent, a part of the Liturgy is read to the people; in the preface to which, the church declares her wiſhes for the reſtoring of that diſcipline ſhe formerly had, and which, for ſome years paſt, hath been more wanted

wanted than ever. But of this no more, leſt it might *inſinuate jealouſies between the clergy and laity;* which, the author tells us, is the *policy of vain ambitious men among the former, in hopes to derive from their order a veneration they cannot deſerve from their virtue.* If this be their method for procuring veneration, it is the moſt ſingular that ever was thought on; and the clergy would then indeed have no more to do with politics of any ſort, than Mr. Steele, or his faction, will allow them.

Having thus toiled through his dedication; I proceed to conſider his preface, which, half conſiſting of quotation, will be ſo much the ſooner got through. It is a very unfair thing in any writer, to employ his *ignorance* and *malice* together; becauſe it gives his anſwerer double work: it is like the ſort of ſophiſtry that the logicians call *two mediums*, which are never allowed in the ſame ſyllogiſm. A writer with a weak head, and a corrupt heart, is an over-match for any ſingle pen; like a hireling jade, dull and vicious, hardly able to ſtir, yet offering at every turn to kick.

He begins his preface with ſuch an account of the original of power, and the nature of civil inſtitutions, as, I am confident, was never once imagined by any writer upon government, from Plato to Mr. Locke. Give me leave to tranſcribe his firſt paragraph. *I never ſaw an unruly crowd of people cool by degrees into temper, but it gave me an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil inſtitutions. One particular man has uſually,*

in thoſe caſes, from the dignity of his appearance, or other qualities known or imagined by the multitude, been received into ſudden favour and authority; the occaſion of their difference has been repreſented to him, and the matter referred to his deciſion.

I have known a poet, who was never out of England, introduce a fact by way of ſimile, which could probably no where happen nearer than in the plains of Lybia; and begin with, *ſo have I ſeen* *. Such a fiction, I ſuppoſe, may be juſtified by poetical licence; yet Virgil is much more modeſt. This paragraph of Mr. Steele's, which he ſets down as an obſervation of his own, is a miſerable mangled tranſlation of ſix verſes out of that famous poet, who ſpeaks after this manner: *As when a ſedition ariſes in a great multitude*, &c. *then if they ſee a wiſe, grave man*, &c. Virgil, who lived but a little after the ruin of the Roman republic, where ſeditions often happened, and the force of oratory was great among the people, made uſe of a ſimile, which Mr. Steele turns into a fact, after ſuch a manner, as if he had ſeen it an hundred times; and builds upon it a ſyſtem of the origin of government. When the vulgar here in England aſſemble in a riotous manner (which is not very frequent of late years) the prince takes a much more effectual way than that of ſending orators to appeaſe them: but Mr. Steele imagines ſuch a crowd of people as this, where there is no government at all; their *unruſineſs* quelled, and their paſſions *cooled* by a particular

* See chap. 5. of the Περὶ Βάθους, vol. VI.

ular man, whoſe great qualities they had known before. Such an aſſembly muſt have riſen ſuddenly from the earth, and the *man of Authority* dropt from the clouds; for, without ſome previous form of government, no ſuch crowd did ever yet aſſemble, or could poſſibly be acquainted with the merits and dignity of any *particular man* among them. But, to purſue his ſcheme: This man of authority, who *cools* the *crowd* by degrees, and to whom they all appeal, muſt of neceſſity prove either an open or *clandeſtine tyrant*. A *clandeſtine tyrant*, I take to be a king of Brentford, who keeps his army in diſguiſe; and whenever he happens either to die naturally, be knock'd on the head, or depoſed, the people *calmly take further meaſures and improve upon what was begun under his unlimited power*. All this, our author tells us, with extreme propriety, *is what ſeems reaſonable to common ſenſe*; that is, in other words, it ſeems *reaſonable* to *reaſon*. This is what he calls *giving an idea of the original of power, and the nature of civil inſtitutions*. To which I anſwer, with great phlegm, that I defy any man alive to ſhew me, in double the number of lines, although writ by the ſame author, ſuch a complicated ignorance in hiſtory, human nature, or politics, as well as in the ordinary proprieties of thought or of ſtyle.

But it ſeems theſe profound ſpeculations were only premiſed to introduce ſome quotations in favour of *reſiſtance*. What hath *reſiſtance* to do with the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Hanover, that the whig writers ſhould perpetually affect to tag them

them together? I can conceive nothing elſe, but that their hatred to the QUEEN and miniſtry, puts them upon thoughts of introducing the ſucceſſor by *another* revolution. Are caſes of *extreme neceſſity* to be produced as common maxims, by which we are always to proceed? Should not theſe gentlemen ſometimes inculcate the general rule of obedience, and not always the exception of reſiſtance? ſince the former hath been the perpetual dictate of all laws both divine and civil, and the latter is ſtill in diſpute.

I ſhall meddle with none of the paſſages he cites, to prove the lawfulneſs of reſiſting princes, except that from the preſent Lord Chancellor's ſpeech*, in defence of Dr. Sacheverel: That *there are extraordinary caſes, caſes of neceſſity, which are implied, although not expreſſed, in the general rule* [of obedience.] Theſe words, very clear in themſelves, Mr. Steele explains into nonſenſe; which, in any other author, I ſhould ſuſpect to have been intended us a reflection upon as great a perſon as ever filled or adorned that high ſtation: but I am ſo well acquainted with his pen, that I much more wonder how it can trace out a true quotation, than a falſe comment. To ſee him treat my Lord Harcourt with ſo much civility, looks indeed a little ſuſpicious, and as if he had malice in his heart. He calls his Lordſhip *a very great man*, and

* Sir Simon Harcourt, who, at the time of Sacheverel's trial, had reſigned his place of Attorney-General, which he afterwards accepted again; upon the change of the miniſtry, he was made Lord-keeper, and in 1711 created a Baron. *Hawkeſ.*

and *a great living authority;* places himſelf in company with Gen. Stanhope and Mr. Hoadley; and, in ſhort, takes the moſt effectual method in his power, of ruining his Lordſhip in the opinion of every man, who is wiſe or good. I can only tell my Lord Harcourt, for his comfort, that theſe praiſes are encumbered with the doctrine of *reſiſtance*, and the true revolution-principles; and, provided he will not allow Mr. Steele for his commentator, he may hope to recover the honour of being libelled again, as well as his ſovereign and fellow-ſervants.

We now come to the Criſis; where we meet with two pages, by way of introduction to thoſe extracts from acts of parliament that conſtitute the body of his pamphlet. This introduction begins with a definition of liberty, and then proceeds in a panegyric upon that great bleſſing. His panegyric is made up of half a dozen ſhreds, like a ſchool-boy's theme, beaten general topicks, where any other man alive might wander ſecurely; but this politician, by venturing to vary the good old phraſes, and give them a new turn, commits an hundred ſoleciſms and abſurdities. The weighty truths, which he endeavours to preſs upon his reader, are ſuch as theſe; That *liberty is a very good thing;* that *without liberty, we cannot be free;* that *health is good, and ſtrength is good, but liberty is better than either;* that *no man can be happy without the liberty of doing whatever his own mind tells him is beſt;* that *men of quality love liberty, and common people love liberty;* even women and

and children love liberty; and you cannot pleaſe them better, than by letting them do what they pleaſe. Had Mr. Steele contented himſelf to deliver theſe and the like maxims in ſuch intelligible terms, I could have found where we agreed, and where we differed. But let us hear ſome of theſe axioms, as he hath involved them. *We cannot poſſeſs our ſouls with pleaſure and ſatisfaction, except we preſerve in ourſelves that ineſtimable bleſſing, which we call liberty. By liberty, I deſire to be underſtood to mean the happineſs of mens living,* &c —The true *life of man conſiſts in conducting it according to his own juſt ſentiments and innocent inclinations—man's being is degraded below that of a free agent, when his affections and paſſions are no longer governed by the dictates of his own mind.—Without liberty, our health* (among other things) *may be, at the will of a tyrant, employed to our own ruin, and that of our fellow-creatures.* If there be any of theſe maxims which is not groſly defective in truth, in ſenſe, or in grammar, I will allow them to paſs for uncontrollable. By the firſt, omitting the pedantry of the whole expreſſion, there are not above one or two nations in the world, where any one man can *poſſeſs his ſoul with pleaſure and ſatisfaction.* In the ſecond, he *deſires to be underſtood to mean;* that is, he deſires to be meant to mean, or to be underſtood to underſtand. In the third, *the life of man conſiſts in conducting* his life. In the fourth he affirms, that *mens beings are degraded, when their paſſions are no longer governed by the dictates of their own minds;*

inds; directly contrary to the leſſons of all moliſts and legiſlators; who agree unanimouſly, at the paſſions of men muſt be under the gornment of reaſon and law; neither are laws of y other uſe, than to correct the irregularity of r affections. By the laſt, *our health is ruinous ourſelves and other men, when a tyrant pleaſes;* ıich I leave to him to make out.

I cannot ſufficiently commend our anceſtors r tranſmitting to us the bleſſing of liberty; yet ving *laid out their blood and treaſure upon the rchaſe,* I do not ſee how they *acted parſimonıouſ-;* becauſe I can conceive nothing more geneus than that of employing our blood and treare for the ſervice of others. But I am ſuddenſtruck with the thought, that I have found his eaning; our anceſtors acted parſimonıouſly, beuſe they only ſpent their own treaſure for the ›od of their poſterity; whereas we ſquandered vay the treaſures of our poſterity too: but whe-er they will be thankful, and think it was done r the preſervation of their liberty, muſt be left › themſelves for a deciſion.

I verily believe, although I could not prove it : Weſtminſter-hall before a Lord Chief Juſtice, ıat by *enemies to our conſtitution,* and *enemies to ır preſent eſtabliſhment, Mr. Steele would deſire to · underſtood to mean* my Lord Treaſurer and the :ſt of the miniſtry: *by thoſe who are grown ſupine, ı proportion to the danger to which our liberty is e-ery day more expoſed,* I ſhould gueſs he means ıe tories: and, by *honeſt men, who ought to look up with*

with a ſpirit that becomes honeſty, he underſtands the whigs. I likewiſe believe, he would take it ill, or think me ſtupid, if I did not thus expound him. I ſay then, that, according to this expoſition, the four great officers of ſtate, together with the reſt of the cabinet-council (except the archbiſhop of Canterbury *) are *enemies to our eſtabliſhment, making artful and open attacks upon our conſtitution*, and are now *practiſing indirect arts, and mean ſubtilties, to weaken the ſecurity of thoſe acts of parliament* for ſettling the ſucceſſion in the houſe of Hanover. The firſt and moſt notorious of theſe criminals, is Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord High Treaſurer, who is reputed to be chief miniſter: the ſecond is, James Butler, Duke of Ormonde, who commands the army, and deſigns to employ it in bringing over the Pretender: the third is, Henry St John, Lord Viſcount Bolingbroke, Secretary of State, who muſt be ſuppoſed to hold a conſtant correſpondence at the court of Bar le Duc, as the late Earl of Godolphin did with that at St. Germains: and, to avoid tediouſneſs, Mr. Bromley, ‡ and the reſt, are employed in their ſeveral diſtricts to the ſame end. Theſe are the opinions which Mr Steele and his faction, under the direction of their leaders, are endeavouring, with all their might, to propagate among the people of England, concerning the preſent miniſtry; with what reſervation to the honour, wiſdom, or juſtice of the QUEEN, I cannot determine; who, by her own

* Dr. Tenniſon. ‡ Speaker of the houſe of Commons.

own free choice, after long experience of their abilities and integrity, and in compliance to the general wiſhes of her people, called them to her ſervice. Such an accuſation againſt perſons in ſo high truſt, ſhould require, I think, at leaſt one ſingle overt act to make it good. If there be no other choice of perſons fit to ſerve the crown, without danger from the Pretender, except among thoſe who are called the whig party, the Hanover ſucceſſion is then indeed in a very deſperate ſtate: that illuſtrious family will have almoſt nine in ten of the kingdom againſt it, and thoſe principally of the landed intereſt; which is moſt to be depended upon in ſuch a nation as ours.

I have now got as far as his extracts, which I ſhall not be at the pains of comparing with the originals, but ſuppoſe he hath gotten them fairly tranſcribed: I only think, that, whoever is patentee for printing acts of parliament, may have a very fair action againſt him, for invaſion of property: but this is none of my buſineſs to enquire into.

After two and twenty pages ſpent in reciting acts of parliament, *he deſires leave to repeat the hiſtory and progreſs of the union;* upon which I have ſome few things to obſerve.

This *work*, he tells us, *was unſucceſsfully attempted by ſeveral of her Majeſty's predeceſſors;* although I do not remember * it was ever thought on by any, except King James I. and the late

* The author's memory failed him a little in this aſſertion, as one of his anſwerers obſerved.

King William. I have read, indeed, that ſome ſmall overtures were made by the former of theſe Princes, towards an union between the two kingdoms, but rejected, with indignation and contempt, by the Engliſh; and the hiſtorian tells us, that, how degenerate and corrupt ſoever the court and parliament then were, they would not give ear to ſo infamous a propoſal. I do not find, that any of the ſucceeding princes, before the revolution, ever reſumed the deſign; becauſe it was a project, for which there could not poſſibly be aſſigned the leaſt reaſon or neceſſity: for, I defy any mortal to name one ſingle advantage that England could ever expect from ſuch an union.

But, towards the end of the late King's reign, upon apprehenſions of the want of iſſue from him, or the Princeſs Anne, a propoſition for uniting both kingdoms was begun; becauſe Scotland had not ſettled their crown upon the houſe of Hanover, but left themſelves at large, in hopes to make their advantage; and it was thought highly dangerous to leave that part of the iſland, inhabited by a poor, fierce, northern people, at liberty to put themſelves under a different king. However, the oppoſition to this work was ſo great, that it could not be overcome, until ſome time after her preſent Majeſty came to the crown, when, by the weakneſs or corruption of a certain miniſter, ſince dead, an act of parliament was obtained for the Scots, which gave them leave to arm themſelves; † and ſo the union

† See the Examiner, No. XIX. at the end, Vol. III.

nion became neceſſary, not for any actual good it could poſſibly do us, but to avoid a probable evil; and, at the ſame time, ſave an obnoxious miniſter's head; who was ſo wiſe as to take the firſt opportunity of procuring a general pardon, by act of parliament, becauſe he could not, with ſo much decency and ſafety, deſire a particular one for himſelf. Theſe facts are well enough known to the whole kingdom. And I remember, diſcourſing, above ſix years ago, with the moſt conſiderable * perſon of the adverſe party, and a great promoter of the union, he frankly owned to me, that this neceſſity, brought upon us by the wrong management of the Earl of Godolphin, was the only cauſe of the union.

Therefore, I am ready to grant two points to the author of the Criſis: *firſt*, That the union became neceſſary, for the cauſe above related; becauſe it prevented this iſland from being governed by two kings; which England would never have ſuffered; and it might probably have coſt us a war of a year or two, to reduce the Scots. *Secondly*, That it would be dangerous to break this union, at leaſt in this juncture, while there is a Pretender abroad, who might probably lay hold of ſuch an opportunity. And this made me wonder a little at the ſpirit of faction laſt ſummer among ſome people, who, having been the great promoters of the *union*, and ſeveral of them the principal gainers by it, could yet procced ſo far as to propoſe, in the houſe of

* Lord Somers.

Lords, that it ſhould be diſſolved ; † while, at the ſame time, thoſe peers, who had ever oppoſed it in the beginning, were then for preſerving it, upon the reaſon I have juſt aſſigned, and which the author of the Criſis hath likewiſe taken notice of.

But when he tells us, *the Engliſhmen ought, in generoſity, to be more particularly careful in preſerving this union,* he argues like himſelf. *The late kingdom of Scotland,* ſaith he, *had as numerous a nobility as England,* &c. They had, indeed; and to that we owe one of the great and neceſſary evils of the union, upon the foot it now ſtands. Their nobility is, indeed, ſo numerous, that the whole revenues of their country would be hardly able to maintain them, according to the dignity of their titles; and, what is infinitely worſe, they are never likely to be extinct, until the laſt period of all things; becauſe the greateſt part of them deſcend to heirs-general. I imagine a perſon of quality, prevailed on to marry a woman much his inferior, and without a groat to her fortune, and her friends arguing, ſhe was as good as her huſband, becauſe ſhe brought him as numerous

† The Duke of Argyle, who zealouſly promoted the union, the Earl of Mar, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Cockburn, having been deputed on purpoſe, remonſtrated to the Queen againſt the malt-tax, which, they ſaid, would probably prompt the Scots to declare the union diſſolved. The Earl of Findlater, ſoon after, moved the houſe of Lords, for leave to bring in a bill for diſſolving the union. He was ſeconded by the Earl of Mar, and ſupported by Lord Eglinton, the Earl of Hay, the Duke of Argyle, and others. *Hawkeſ.*

merous a family of relations and ſervants as ſhe found in his houſe. Scotland, in the taxes, is obliged to contribute one penny for every forty pence laid upon England; and the repreſentatives they ſend to parliament, are about a thirteenth. Every other Scots peer hath all the privilges of an Engliſh one, except that of ſitting in parliament; and even precedence before all of the ſame title, that ſhall be created for the time to come. The penſions and employments poſſeſſed by the natives of that country, now among us, do amount to more than the whole body of their nobility ever ſpent at home; and all the money they raiſe upon the public, is hardly ſufficient to defray their civil and military liſts. I could point out ſome with great titles, who affected to appear very vigorous for diſſolving the union, although their whole revenues, before that period, would have ill maintained a Welſh juſtice of the peace; and have ſince gathered more money than ever any Scotſman, who had not travelled, could form an idea of.

I have only one thing more to ſay, upon occaſion of the union act; which is, that the author of the Criſis may be fairly proved, from his own citations, to be guilty of HIGH TREASON. In a paper of his, called the Engliſhman, of October 29th, there is an advertiſement, about taking in ſubſcriptions for printing the Criſis, where the title is publiſhed at length, with the following clauſe, which the author thought fit to drop in the publication; [*and that no power on earth can*

bar, alter, or make void the preſent ſettlement of the crown, &c. By Richard Steele.] In this extract of an act of parliament made ſince the union, it appears to be *high treaſon, for any perſon, by writing or printing, to maintain and affirm, that the kings or queens of this realm, with and by the authority of parliament, are not able to make laws and ſtatutes, of ſufficient force and validity, to limit and bind the crown, and the deſcent, limitation, inheritance, and government thereof.* This act being ſubſequent to the ſettlement of the crown, confirmed at the union, it is probable, ſome friend of the author adviſed him to leave out thoſe *treaſonable* words in the printed title-page, which he had before publiſhed in the *advertiſement;* and accordingly, we find, that, in the treatiſe itſelf, he only *offers it to every good ſubject's conſideration, whether this article of the ſettlement of the crown is not as firm as the union itſelf, and as the ſettlement of Epiſcopacy in England*, &c. And he thinks the *Scots underſtood it ſo, that the ſucceſſion to the crown was never to be controverted.*

Theſe I take to be only treaſonable inſinuations; but the advertiſement before mentioned, is actually *high treaſon;* for which the author ought to be proſecuted, if that would avail any thing under a juriſdiction, where curſing the QUEEN is not above the penalty of twenty merks.

Nothing is more notorious, than that the *whigs*, of late years, both in their writings and diſcourſes, have affected, upon all occaſions, to allow the legitimacy of the Pretender. This makes

akes me a little wonder to ſee our author la-
ouring to prove the contrary, by producing all
ie popular chat of thoſe times, and other ſolid ar-
ıments from Fuller's narrative: but, it muſt be
ppoſed, that this gentleman acts by the com-
ands of his ſuperiors, who have thought fit, at
is juncture, to iſſue out new orders, for reaſons
:ſt known to themſelves. I wiſh they had been
ore clear in their directions to him, upon that
eighty point, whether the ſettlement of the ſuc-
:ſſion in the houſe of Hanover be alterable or
). I have obſerved where, in his former pages,
: gives it in the negative; but, in the turning
f a leaf, he hath wholly changed his mind. He
:lls us, *he wonders there can be found any Briton
eak enough to contend againſt a power in their own
ation, which is practiſed, in a much greater de-
ree, in other ſtates:* and *how hard it is, that Bri-
ain ſhould be debarred the privilege of eſtabliſhing its
wn ſecurity, by relinquiſhing only thoſe branches of
he royal line, which threaten it with deſtruction;
hilſt other nations never ſcruple, upon leſs occaſions,
go much greater lengths;* of which he produceth
nſtances in France, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia;
nd then adds, *can great Britain help to advance
ien to other thrones, and have no power in limiting
:s own?* How can a ſenator, capable of *doing
onour to Sir Thomas Hanmer*, be guilty of ſuch
idiculous inconſiſtencies? The author of the
Conduct of the allies, ſays he, *hath dared to drop in-
inuations about altering the ſucceſſion.* The author
of the *Conduct of the allies* writes ſenſe and Eng-
liſh;

liſh; neither of which, the author of the Criſis underſtands. The former thinks it *wrong, in point of policy, to call in a foreign power to be guarantee of our ſucceſſion, becauſe it puts it out of the power of our own legiſlature to change our ſucceſſion, without the conſent of that prince or ſtate, who is guarantee, whatever neceſſity may happen in future times.* Now, if it be high treaſon to affirm, by writing, that the legiſlature hath no ſuch power; and if Mr. Steele thinks it ſtrange, that Britain ſhould be debarred this privilege, what could be the crime of putting ſuch a caſe, that, in future ages, a neceſſity might happen, of limiting the ſucceſſion, as well as it hath happened already?

When Mr. Steele *reflects upon the many ſolemn, ſtrong barriers* (to our ſucceſſion) *of laws and oaths*, &c. he *thinks all fear vaniſheth before them.* I think ſo too, provided the epithet *ſolemn* goes for nothing; becauſe, although I have often heard of a *ſolemn* day, a *ſolemn* feaſt, and a *ſolemn* coxcomb, yet I can conceive no idea to myſelf, of a *ſolemn barrier.* However, be that as it will, his *thoughts*, it ſeems, *will not let him reſt; but, before he is aware, he aſks himſelf ſeveral queſtions;* and, ſince he cannot reſolve them, I will endeavour to give him what ſatisfaction I am able. The firſt is, *What are the marks of a laſting ſecurity?* To which I anſwer, That the ſigns of it, in a kingdom or ſtate, are, firſt, good laws; and, ſecondly, thoſe laws well executed. We are pretty well provided with the former, but extremely defective in the latter.—Secondly, *What are our tempers and*

our

hearts at home? If by *ours*, he means thoſe imſelf and his abettors, they are moſt damly wicked; impatient for the death of the EEN; ready to gratify their ambition and rege, by all deſperate methods; wholly alienated n truth, law, religion, mercy, conſcience, or our.—Thirdly, *In what hands is power lodged ad?* To anſwer the queſtion naturally, ris XIV. is king of France, Philip V. (by the nſels and acknowledgments of the Whigs) ing of Spain, and ſo on. If by power, he ins money; the Duke of Marlborough is ught to have more ready money than all the gs of Chriſtendom together; but, by the pear diſpoſition of Providence, it is locked up trunk, to which his ambition hath no key; that is our ſecurity.—Fourthly, *Are our unural diviſions our ſtrength?* I think not; but y are the ſign of it; for, being *unnatural*, y cannot laſt; and this ſhews, that *union*, the ndation of all ſtrength, is more agreeable to nature.—Fifthly, *Is it nothing to us, which of Princes of Europe has the longeſt ſword?* Not ch, if we can tie up his hands, or put a ſtrong *ld* into thoſe of his neighbours; or, if our *rd* be as *ſharp* as his is *long;* or, if it be neary for him to turn his own *ſword* into a *ghſhare;* or, if ſuch a *ſword* happeneth to be the hands of an *infant*, or ſtruggled for by two petitors.—Sixthly, *The powerful hand that ls out crowns and kingdoms all around us, may it , in time, reach a king out to us too?* If the

powerful

powerful hand he means, be that of France, it may *reach out* as many kings as it pleaſeth; but we will not accept them. Whence does this man get his intelligence? I ſhould think, even his brother Ridpath might furniſh him with better. What *crowns* or *kingdoms* hath France dealt about? Spain was given by the will of the former King, in conſequence of that infamous treaty of *partition;* the adviſer of which will, I hope, never be forgot in England. Sicily was diſpoſed of by her Majeſty of Great Britain; ſo, in effect, was Sardinia. France, indeed, once *reached out* a king to Poland; but the people would not receive him. This queſtion of Mr. Steele's, was therefore only put *in terrorem*, without any regard to truth.—Seventhly, *Are there no pretenſions to our crown that can ever be revived?* There may, for aught I know, be about a dozen; and thoſe, in time, may poſſibly beget a hundred; but we muſt do as well as we can. Captain Beſſus, when he had fifty challenges to anſwer, proteſted, he could not fight above three duels a-day. *If the Pretender ſhould fail*, ſays the writer, *the French King has in his quiver a ſucceſſion of them; the Ducheſs of Savoy, or her ſons, or the Dauphin her grandſon.* Let me ſuppoſe the Chevalier de St. George to be dead; the Ducheſs of Savoy will then be a *pretender*, and conſequently muſt leave her huſband, becauſe his Royal Highneſs, (for Mr. Steele has not yet acknowledged him for a King) is in alliance with her Britiſh Majeſty; her ſons, when they grow *pretenders*, muſt

muſt undergo the ſame fate. But, I am at a loſs how to diſpoſe of the Dauphin, if he happen to be King of France, before the *pretenderſhip* to Britain falls to his ſhare; for I doubt he will never be perſuaded to remove out of his own kingdom, only becauſe it is too near England.

But *the Duke of Savoy did, ſome years ago, put in his claim to the crown of England in right of his wife; and he is a prince of great capacity, in ſtrict alliance with France, and may therefore very well add to our fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor.* Is it the fault of the preſent, or of any miniſtry, that this Prince put in his claim? muſt we give him opium to deſtroy his *capacity?* or can we prevent his alliance with any prince, who is in peace with her Majeſty? Muſt we ſend to ſtab or poiſon all the *popiſh* princes, who have any pretended title to our crown, by the proximity of blood? What, in the name of God, can theſe people drive at! what is it they demand! Suppoſe the preſent Dauphin were now a man, and King of France, and next *popiſh* heir to the crown of England; is he not excluded by the laws of the land? But what regard will he have to our laws? I anſwer; hath not the QUEEN as good a title to the crown of France? and how is ſhe excluded, but by their law againſt the ſucceſſion of females, which we are not bound to acknowledge? And is it not in our power to exclude female ſucceſſors, as well as in theirs? If ſuch a pretence ſhall prove the cauſe of a war, what human power can prevent it? But our cauſe muſt neceſſarily be good and righteous;

teous; for, either the kings of England have been unjuſtly kept out of the poſſeſſion of France, or the Dauphin, although neareſt of kin, can have no legal title to England. And he muſt be an ill prince indeed, who will not have the hearts and hands of ninety-nine in a hundred among his ſubjects, againſt ſuch a *popiſh pretender*.

I have been the longer in anſwering the ſeventh queſtion, becauſe it led me to conſider all he had afterwards to ſay upon the ſubject of the *Pretender*.—Eighthly, and laſtly, he aſks himſelf, *whether Popery and ambition are become tame and quiet neighbours?* In this, I can give him no ſatisfaction, becauſe I never was in that ſtreet where they live; nor do I converſe with any of their friends; only I find they are perſons of a very evil reputation. But I am told for certain, that *Ambition* hath removed her lodging, and lives the very next door to *Faction*, where they keep ſuch a racket, that the whole pariſh is diſturbed, and every night in an uproar.

Thus much in anſwer to thoſe eight *uneaſy queſtions* put by the author to himſelf, in order to *ſatisfy every Briton*, and give him an occaſion of *taking an impartial view of the affairs of Europe in general, as well as of Great Britain in particular*.

After enumerating the great actions of the *confederate* armies under the command of Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, Mr. Steele obſerves, in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, that the "Britiſh general, however unaccountable it may "be to poſterity, was not permitted to enjoy the "fruits

"fruits of his glorious labour." Ten years *fruits*, it ſeems, were not ſufficient; and yet they were the fruitfulleſt campaigns that ever any general cropt. However, I cannot but hope, that poſterity will not be left in the dark, but ſome care taken, both of her majeſty's glory, and the reputation of thoſe ſhe employs. An impartial hiſtorian may tell the world (and the next age will eaſily believe what it continues to feel) that the avarice and ambition of a few factious inſolent ſubjects, had almoſt deſtroyed their country, by continuing a ruinous war, in conjunction with allies, for whoſe ſakes principally we fought, who refuſed to bear their juſt proportion of the charge, and were connived at in their refuſal, for private ends: that theſe factious people treated the beſt and kindeſt of ſovereigns with inſolence, cruelty, and ingratitude (of which he will be able to produce ſeveral inſtances): that they encouraged perſons and principles, alien from our religion and government, in order to ſtrengthen their faction: he will tell the reaſons, why the *General* and *Firſt Miniſter* were ſeduced to be heads of this faction, contrary to the opinions they had always profeſſed. Such an hiſtorian will ſhew many reaſons, which made it neceſſary to remove the General and his friends, who, knowing the bent of the nation was againſt them, expected to loſe their power when the war was at an end. Particularly, the hiſtorian will diſcover the whole intrigue of the Duke of Marlborough's endeavouring to procure a commiſſion to be *General for life*; where-

in juſtice will be done to a perſon at that time of high ſtation in the law, who (I mention it to his honour) adviſed the Duke, when he was conſulted upon it, not to accept of ſuch a *commiſſion**. By theſe, and many other inſtances, which time will bring to light, it may perhaps appear not very unaccountable to poſterity, why this great man was diſmiſſed at laſt; but rather why he was diſmiſſed no ſooner.

But this is entering into a wide field. I ſhall therefore leave poſterity to the information of better hiſtorians than the author of the Criſis, or myſelf; and go on to inform the preſent age in ſome facts, which this great orator and politician thinks fit to miſrepreſent with the utmoſt degree either of natural or wilful ignorance. He aſſerts, that in the Duke of Ormonde's campaign, "after a "ſuſpenſion of arms between Great Britain and "France, proclaimed at the head of the armies, "the Britiſh troops, in the midſt of the enemy's "garriſons, withdrew themſelves from their con-"federates." The fact is directly otherwiſe; for the Britiſh troops were moſt infamouſly deſerted by the confederates, after all that could be urged by the Duke of Ormonde and the Earl of Strafford to preſs the confederate generals not to forſake them. The Duke was directed to avoid engaging in any action, until he had further orders, becauſe an account of the King of Spain's renunciation was every day expected: this, the Imperialiſts and Dutch knew well enough; and therefore,

* See the Examiner, No. XIX. and ſubſequent papers, Vol. III.

:fore, propoſed to the Duke, in that very junc-
to engage the French, for no other reaſon
:o render deſperate all the QUEEN's mea-
towards a peace. Was not the certain poſ-
n of Dunkirk, of equal advantage to the un-
iinty of a battle? A whole campaign under
Duke of Marlborough, with ſuch an acqui-
ı, although at the coſt of many thouſand
, and ſeveral millions of money, would have
thought very glorioufly ended.
either, after all, was it a new thing, either in
Britiſh general, or the Dutch deputies, to re-
fighting, when they did not approve it.
:n the Duke of Marlborough was going to
ſt Bouchain, the deputies of the States preſſ-
im in vain to engage the enemy; and one
ıem was ſo far diſcontented upon his Grace's
ſal, that he preſently became a partizan of
peace; yet I do not remember any clamour
raiſed here againſt the Duke, upon that ac-
ıt. Again, when the French invaded Doway,
the confederates had deſerted the Duke of
ıonde, Prince Eugene was violently bent up-
battle, and ſaid, they ſhould never have an-
r ſo good an opportunity; but Monſieur ——,
ivate deputy, roſe up, and oppoſed it ſo far,
the Prince was forced to deſiſt. Was it then
e criminal in the Duke of Ormonde, to refuſe
ting by expreſs command of the QUEEN, and in
r to get poſſeſſion of Dunkirk, than for the Duke
Marlborough to give the ſame refuſal, without
ſuch orders, or any ſuch advantage? or, ſhall

a Duch deputy aſſume more power than the QUEEN of Great Britain's general, acting by the immediate commands of his ſovereign?

The *Emperor and the empire* (ſays Mr. Steele, by way of admiration) *continue the war!* Is his Imperial Majeſty able to continue it, or no? If he be, then Great Britain hath been ſtrangely uſed for ten years paſt. Then, how came it to paſs, that, of above thirty thouſand men in his ſervice in Italy, at the time of the battle of Turin, there were not above four thouſand paid by himſelf? if he be not able to continue it, why does he go on? The reaſons are clear; becauſe the war only affects the princes of the empire (whom he is willing enough to expoſe) but not his own dominions. Beſides, the Imperial miniſters are in daily expectation of the QUEEN's death, which they hope will give a new turn to affairs, and rekindle the war in Europe upon the old foot; and we know how the miniſters of that court publicly aſſign it for a reaſon of their obſtinacy againſt peace, that they hope for a ſudden revolution in England. In the mean time, this appearance of the Emperor's being forſaken by his ally, will ſerve to encreaſe the clamour, both here and in Holland, againſt her Majeſty and thoſe ſhe employs.

Mr. Steele ſays, "There can be no crime in "affirming, if it be truth, that the houſe of Bour-"bon is at this juncture become more formida-"ble, and bids fairer for an univerſal monarchy, "and to engroſs the whole trade of Europe, than "it did before the war."

No

No *crime in affirming it, if it be truth.* I will, for once, allow his propoſition. But, if it be falſe, then I affirm, that whoever advanceth ſo ſeditious a falſhood, deſerves to be hanged. Doth he mean by the houſe of Bourbon, the two kings of France and Spain? If ſo, I reject his meaning, which would inſinuate, that the intereſts and deſigns of both thoſe princes will be the ſame; whereas, they are more oppoſite than thoſe of any two other monarchs in Chriſtendom. This is the old fooliſh ſlander ſo frequently flung upon the peace, and as frequently refuted. Theſe factious undertakers of the preſs, write with great advantage; they ſtrenuouſly affirm a thouſand falſhoods, without fear, wit, conſcience, or knowledge; and we, who anſwer them, muſt be at the expence of an argument for each; after which, in the very next pamphlet, we ſee the ſame aſſertions produced again, without the leaſt notice of what hath been ſaid to diſprove them. By the houſe of Bourbon, doth he mean only the French King for the time being? If ſo, and his aſſertion be true, then that Prince muſt either deal with the devil, or elſe the money and blood ſpent in our ten years victories againſt him, might as well have continued in the purſes and veins of her Majeſty's ſubjects.

But the *particular* aſſertions of this author, are eaſier detected, than his *general* ones: I ſhall therefore proceed upon examining the former. For inſtance: I deſire him to aſk the Dutch, who can beſt inform him, *why they delivered up Traerbach*

bach to the Imperialiſts? for, as to the QUEEN, her Majeſty was never once conſulted in it; whatever his preceptors, the politicians of Button's coffee-houſe, may have informed him to the contrary.

Mr. Steele affirms, that "the French have be-"gun the demolition of Dunkirk, contemptu-"ouſly and arbitrarily, their own way." The governor of the town, and thoſe gentlemen entruſted with the inſpection of this work, do aſſure me, that the fact is altogether otherwiſe; that the method preſcribed by thoſe whom her Majeſty employs, hath been exactly followed, and that the works are already demoliſhed. I will venture to tell him further, that the demolition was ſo long deferred, in order to remove thoſe difficulties, which the Barrier-treaty hath put us under; and the event hath ſhewn, that it was prudent to proceed no faſter, until thoſe difficulties were got over. The *mole* and *harbour* could not be deſtroyed, until the ſhips were got out; which, by reaſon of ſome profound ſecrets of ſtate, did not happen until the other day. Who *gave him theſe juſt ſuſpicions, that the mole and harbour will never be deſtroyed?* what is it he would now inſinuate; that the miniſtry is bribed to leave the moſt important part of the work undone; or that the Pretender is to invade us from thence; or that the QUEEN hath entered into a conſpiracy with her ſervants, to prevent the good effects of the peace, for no other end, but to loſe

the

the affections of her people, and endanger herſelf?

Inſtead of any further information, which I could eaſily give, but which no honeſt man can want, I venture to affirm, that the mole and harbour of Dunkirk will, in a ſhort time, be moſt effectually deſtroyed; and, at the ſame time, I venture to propheſy, that neither Mr. Steele, nor his faction, will ever confeſs they believe it.

After all, it is a little hard, that the QUEEN cannot be allowed to demoliſh this town, in whatever manner ſhe pleaſes to fancy. Mr. Steele muſt have it done his own way, and is angry the French have pretended to do it theirs; and yet he wrongs them into the bargain. For my own part, I do ſeriouſly think the moſt Chriſtian King to be a much better friend of her Majeſty's, than Mr. Steele, or any of his faction. Beſides, it is to be conſidered, that he is a monarch, and a relation; and therefore, if I were a privy counſellor, and my advice to be aſked, which of thoſe two GENTLEMEN BORN * ſhould have the direction in the demolition of Dunkirk, I would give it for the former; becauſe I look upon Mr. Steele, in quality of a member of his party, to be much more ſkilful in *demoliſhing at home*, than *abroad*.

There is a proſpect of more danger to the balance of Europe, and to the trade of Britain, from the Emperor over-running Italy, than from France over-running the *empire:* that his

* Mr. Steele often ſtyles himſelf ſo.

his Imperial Majeſty entertains ſuch thoughts, is viſible to the world: and although little can be ſaid to juſtify many actions of the French King, yet the worſt of them have never equalled the Emperor's arbitrarily keeping the poſſeſſion of Milan, directly contrary to his oath, and to the expreſs words of the *golden bull*, which oblige him to deliver up every *fief* that falls, or elſe they muſt all, in the courſe of time, lapſe into his own hands.

I was at a loſs, who it was that Mr. Steele hinted at ſome time ago, by "the powerful hand "that deals out crowns and kingdoms all around "us:" I now plainly find, he meant no other hand but his own. He hath dealt out the crown of Spain to France; to France he hath given leave to invade the empire next ſpring, with two hundred thouſand men; and now at laſt, he deals to France the *imperial* dignity; *ſo farewel, liberty; Europe will be French.* But in order to bring all this about, *the capital of Auſtria, the reſidence of his Imperial Majeſty*, muſt continue to be *viſited by the plague*, of which the Emperor muſt die, and ſo the thing is done.

Why ſhould not I venture to *deal out* one *ſceptre*, in my turn, as well as Mr. Steele? I therefore deal out the empire to the Elector of Saxony, upon failure of iſſue to this Emperor at his death; provided the whigs will prevail on the ſon to turn papiſt to get an empire, as they did upon the father to get a kingdom. Or, if this Prince be not approved of, I *deal it out*, in his ſtead, to the Elector of Bavaria: and, in one or other of theſe,

theſe, I dare engage to have all Chriſtendom to ſecond me, whatever the ſpleen, in the ſhape of politics, may dictate to the author of the Criſis.

The deſign of Mr. Steele, in *repreſenting the circumſtances of the affairs of Europe*, is to ſignify to the world, that all Europe is put in the high road to ſlavery, by the corruption of her Majeſty's preſent miniſters; and ſo he goes on to Portugal; which, "having during the war ſupplied "us with gold, in exchange for our woollen ma-"nufacture, hath only at preſent a ſuſpenſion of "arms for its protection, to laſt no longer than "till the Catalonians are reduced; and then the "old pretenſions of Spain to Portugal will be "revived:" and Portugal, when once enſlaved by Spain, falls naturally with the reſt of Europe into the gulf of France. In the mean time, let us ſee, what relief a little truth can give this unhappy kingdom. That Portugal hath yet no more than a ſuſpenſion of arms, they may thank themſelves, becauſe they came ſo late into the treaty; and, that they came ſo late, they may thank the whigs, whoſe falſe repreſentations they were ſo weak to believe. However, the QUEEN hath voluntarily given them a guarantee to defend them againſt Spain, until the peace ſhall be made; and ſuch terms, after the peace, are ſtipulated for them, as the Portugueſe themſelves are contented with.

Having mentioned the Catalonians, he puts the queſtion, *Who can name the Catalonians without a tear?* That can I; for he hath told ſo many

muſt be the doom of thoſe, who hindered theſe people from ſubmitting to the gentle terms offered them by their Prince! and who, although they be conſcious of their own inability to furniſh one ſingle ſhip, for the ſupport of the Catalans, are, at this inſtant, ſpurring them on to their ruin, by promiſes of aid and protection!

Thus much in anſwer to Mr. Steele's account of the affairs of Europe; from which he deduceth the univerſal monarchy of France, and the danger of I know not how many *popiſh ſucceſſors* to Britain. His political reflections are as good as his facts. "We muſt obſerve, *ſays he*, that the "perſon, who ſeems to be the moſt favoured by "the French King, in the late treaties, is the "Duke of Savoy." Extremely right; for whatever that Prince got by the peace, he owes entirely to her Majeſty, as a juſt reward for his having been ſo firm and uſeful an ally; neither was France brought, with more difficulty, to yield any one point, than that of allowing the Duke ſuch a barrier as the Queen inſiſted on.

He is become the moſt powerful prince in Italy. I had rather ſee *him* ſo, than the Emperor. *He is ſuppoſed to have entered into a ſecret and ſtrict alliance with the houſe of Bourbon.* This is one of thoſe facts, wherein I am moſt inclined to believe the author, becauſe it is what he muſt needs be utterly ignorant of, and therefore may poſſibly be true.

I thought, indeed, we ſhould be ſafe from all popiſh ſucceſſors, as far as Italy, becauſe of the prodigious

prodigious clutter about ſending the Pretender thither. But they will never agree where to fix their *longitude*. The Duke of Savoy is the more dangerous for removing to Sicily: he *adds to our fears* for being *too near*. So, *whether France conquer Germany, or be in peace and good underſtanding with it*, either event *will put us and Holland at the mercy of France*, which hath a quiver full of Pretenders at its back, whenever the Chevalier ſhall die.

This was juſt the logic of poor Prince Butler, a ſplenetic madman, whom every body may remember about the town. Prince Pamphilio in Italy, employed emiſſaries to torment Prince Butler here. But what if Prince Pamphilio die? Why then he had left in his will, that his heirs and executors torment Prince Butler for ever.

I cannot think it a misfortune, what Mr. Steele affirms, that "treaſonable books, lately diſperſed among us, ſtriking apparently at the Hanover ſucceſſion, have paſſed almoſt without obſervation from the generality of the people;" becauſe it ſeems a certain ſign, that the *generality of the people* are well diſpoſed to that illuſtrious family: but I look upon it as a great evil, to ſee ſeditious books *diſperſed among us, apparently ſtriking at the* Queen and her adminiſtration, at the conſtitution of church and ſtate, and at all religion; yet *paſſing without obſervation from the generality of thoſe in power:* but whether this remiſſneſs may be imputed to Whitehall, or Weſtminſter-hall, is other mens buſineſs to enquire. Mr. Steele

knows in his conſcience, that the *Queries concerning the Pretender*, iſſued from one of his own party. And as for the poor nonjuring clergyman, who was truſted with committing to the preſs a late book, *on the ſubject* of *hereditary right*, by a ſtrain of the *ſummum jus*, he is now, as I am told, with half a ſcore children, ſtarving and rotting among thieves and pick-pockets, in the common room of a ſtinking jail *. I have never ſeen either the book or the publiſher; however, I would fain aſk one ſingle perſon † in the world a queſtion; why he hath ſo often drank the abdicated King's health upon his knees?——But the tranſition is natural and frequent, and I ſhall not trouble him for an anſwer.

It is the hardeſt caſe in the world, that Mr. Steele ſhould take up the artificial reports of his own faction, and then put them off upon the world as *additional fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor*. I can aſſure him, that no good ſubject of the Queen, is under the leaſt concern, whether the Pretender be converted or no, farther than their wiſhes, that all men would embrace the true religion. But, reporting backwards and forwards upon this point, helps to keep up the noiſe, and is a topic for Mr. Steele to enlarge himſelf upon, by ſhewing how little we can depend on ſuch converſions, by collecting a liſt of *popiſh* cruelties, and repeating,

* Upon his conviction, he was committed to the Marſhalſea, and, at his ſentence, to the Queen's Bench, for three years. *Hawkeſ.*

† Parker, afterward Lord Chancellor.

ing, after himſelf, and the biſhop of Sarum, the diſmal effects likely to follow, upon the return of that ſuperſtition among us.

But as this writer is reported, by thoſe who know him, to be what the French call *journalier*, his fear and courage operating according to the weather, in our uncertain climate; I am apt to believe, the two laſt pages of his Criſis were written on a *ſun-ſhine day*. This I gueſs from the general tenor of them; and, particularly, from an unwary aſſertion, which, if he believes as firmly as I do, will, at once, overthrow all his foreign and domeſtic *fears of a popiſh ſucceſſor*. *As divided a people as we are, thoſe who ſtand for the houſe of Hanover, are* INFINITELY *ſuperior in number, wealth, and courage, and all arts, military and civil, to thoſe in the contrary intereſt; beſides which, we have the laws, I ſay, the laws on our ſide. The laws, I ſay, the laws.* This elegant repetition is, I think, a little out of place; for the ſtreſs might better have been laid upon ſo great a majority of the nation; without which, I doubt the laws would be of little weight, although they be very good additional ſecurities. And, if what he here aſſerts be true, as it certainly is, although he aſſert it, (for I allow even the majority of his own party to be againſt the Pretender) there can be no danger of a popiſh ſucceſſor, except from the unreaſonable jealouſies of the *beſt* among that party, and from the malice, the avarice or ambition of the *worſt*; without which, Britain would be able to defend her ſucceſſion againſt all her enemies, both at home and

abroad. Moſt of the dangers from abroad, which he enumerates, as the conſequences of this very bad peace, made by the Queen, and approved by parliament, muſt have ſubſiſted under any peace at all; unleſs, among other projects equally feaſible, we could have ſtipulated, to cut the throats of every *popiſh* relation to the royal family.

Well, by this author's own confeſſion, a number infinitely ſuperior, and the beſt circumſtantiated imaginable, are for the *ſucceſſion* in the houſe of Hanover. This *ſucceſſion* is eſtabliſhed, confirmed, and ſecured, by ſeveral laws; her majeſty's repeated declarations, and the oaths of all her ſubjects, engage both her and them to preſerve what thoſe laws have ſettled. This is a ſecurity, indeed, a *ſecurity* adequate, at leaſt, to the importance of the thing; and yet, according to the whig ſcheme, as delivered to us by Mr. Steele and his coadjutors, is altogether inſufficient; and the ſucceſſion will be defeated, the Pretender brought in, and *popery* eſtabliſhed among us, without the farther aſſiſtance of the writer and his faction.

And what ſecurities have our adverſaries ſubſtituted in the place of theſe? A club of politicians, where Jenny Man preſides; a Criſis written by Mr. Steele; a confederacy of knaviſh ſtock-jobbers, to ruin credit; a report of the Queen's death; an *effigies* of the Pretender, run twice through the body, by a valiant peer; a ſpeech, by the author of the Criſis; and, to ſum up all, an unlimited freedom of reviling her Majeſty, and thoſe ſhe employs.

I have

I have now finiſhed the moſt diſguſtful taſk that ever I undertook. I could, with more eaſe, have written *three* dull pamphlets, than remarked upon the falſhoods and abſurdities of *one*. But I was quite confounded, laſt Wedneſday, when the printer came with another pamphlet in his hand, written by the ſame author, and entitled, *The Engliſhman, being the cloſe of the paper ſo called*, &c. He deſired I would read it over, and conſider it in a paper by itſelf; which laſt I abſolutely refuſed. Upon peruſal, I found it chiefly an invective againſt Toby, the miniſtry, the Examiner, the clergy, the Queen, and the Poſt-boy; yet, at the ſame time, with great juſtice, exclaiming againſt thoſe, who preſumed to offer the leaſt word, againſt the heads of that faction whom her Majeſty diſcharged. The author likewiſe propoſeth an *equal diviſion of favour and employments*, between the *whigs* and *tories*; for, if the former *can have no part or portion in David**, *they deſire no longer to be his ſubjects*. He inſiſts, that her Majeſty *hath exactly followed Monſieur Tughe's memorial* †, *againſt demoliſhing of Dunkirk*. He reflects, with *great ſatisfaction*, *on the good already done to his country, by the Criſis*. *Non nobis, Domine, non nobis*, &c.——He gives us hopes, that

* What portion have we in David?

† "Tughe was deputed by the magiſtrates of Dunkirk to intercede with the Queen, that ſhe would recall part of her ſentence concerning Dunkirk, by cauſing her thunderbolts to fall only on the martial works, and to ſpare the moles and dykes, which, in their naked condition, could be no more than objects of pity."

he will leave off writing, *and conſult his own quiet and happineſs*; and concludes, with a *letter to a friend at court*. I ſuppoſe, by the ſtyle of *old friend*, and the like, it muſt be ſomebody *there*, of his own level; among whom his party have, indeed, more *friends* than I could wiſh. In this letter, he aſſerts, that the preſent miniſters were not educated in the church of England, but are *new converts from preſbytery*. Upon which I can only reflect, how blind the malice of that man muſt be, who invents a groundleſs lie, in order to defame his ſuperiors, which would be no diſgrace, if it had been a truth. And he concludes with making three demands, *for the ſatisfaction of himſelf* and other *malecontents*, "*Firſt*, The demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk. *Secondly*, "That Great Britain and France would heartily "join, againſt the exorbitant power of the Duke "of Lorrain, and force the Pretender from his "aſylum at Bar le Duc. *Laſtly*, That his Electoral Highneſs of Hanover would be ſo grateful "to ſignify to all the world, the perfect good "underſtanding he hath with the court of England, in as plain terms as her Majeſty was pleaſed to declare ſhe had with that houſe, on her "part."

As to the firſt of theſe demands, I will venture to undertake it ſhall be granted; but then, Mr. Steele and his brother *malecontents*, muſt promiſe to believe the thing is done, after thoſe employed have made their report; or elſe bring vouchers to diſprove it. Upon the ſecond; I cannot tell, whether

whether her Majeſty will engage in a war againſt the Duke of Lorrain, to *force him to remove the Pretender;* but, I believe, if the parliament ſhould think it neceſſary to addreſs, upon ſuch an occaſion, the QUEEN will move that prince to ſend him away. His laſt demand, offered under the title of a *wiſh*, is of ſo inſolent and ſeditious a ſtrain, that I care not to touch it. Here he directly chargeth her Majeſty with delivering a falſhood to her parliament from the throne; and declares, he will not believe her, until the Elector of Hanover himſelf ſhall vouch for the truth of what ſhe hath ſo ſolemnly affirmed.

I agree with this writer, that it is an idle thing in his antagoniſts, to trouble themſelves upon the *articles of his birth, education*, or *fortune:* for, whoever writes at this rate, of his ſovereign, to whom he owes ſo many perſonal obligations, I ſhall never enquire, whether he be a GENTLEMAN BORN, but whether he be a HUMAN CREATURE.

THE

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES, and of the LATE MINISTRY, in beginning and carrying on the preſent War *.

Written in the year 1712.

Partem tibi Gallia noſtri
Eripuit: partem duris Hiſpania bellis:
Pars jacet Heſperia, totoque exercitus orbe
Te vincente perit.

Odimus accipitrem quia ſemper vivit in armis.
Victrix provincia plorat.

PREFACE.

I Cannot ſufficiently admire the induſtry of a ſort of men, wholly out of favour with the Prince and people, and openly profeſſing a ſeparate intereſt from the bulk of the landed men, who yet are able to raiſe, at this juncture, ſo great a clamour againſt a peace, without offering one ſingle reaſon, but what we find in their *ballads*. I lay it down for a maxim, that no reaſonable man, whether *whig* or *tory*, (ſince it is neceſſary to uſe thoſe fooliſh terms) can be of opinion for continuing the war

* To this tract, and the Examiners, which make Vol. V. of the Iriſh edition, there is a preface in the name of the publiſher, which Lord Orrery aſcribes to Swift, for no other apparent reaſon, than to accuſe him of praiſing himſelf. But, beſides the incorrectneſs of the ſtyle, which his Lordſhip ſuppoſes to be affected, there is an aſſertion, that theſe papers *produced* the change in the Queen's miniſtry, which, even in his Lordſhip's opinion, they were written to *defend*, and to which they appear, by their date, as well as tenor, to be *ſubſequent*; an abſurdity, of which Swift, even in the character of a publiſher, cannot be ſuppoſed to have been guilty. *Hawkeſ.*

ir upon the foot it now is, unleſs he be a gainer it, or hopes it may occaſion ſome new turn of airs at home, to the advantage of his party; or, lly, unleſs he be very ignorant of the kingdom's idition, and by what means we have been re-ced to it. Upon the two firſt caſes, where in-eſt is concerned, I have nothing to ſay: but, as he laſt, I think it highly neceſſary, that the pub-ſhould be freely and impartially told, what cir-nſtances they are in, after what manner they ve been treated by thoſe, whom they truſted ſo ny years with the diſpoſal of their blood and trea-e, and what the conſequences of this management like to be, upon themſelves and their poſterity. Thoſe who, either by writing or diſcourſe, have lertaken to defend the proceedings of the late iniſtry, in the management of the war, and of the ity at Gertruydenburgh, have ſpent time in ce-rating the conduct and valour of our leaders, and r troops, in ſumming up the victories they have ied, and the towns they have taken. Then y tell us, what high articles were inſiſted on by miniſters, and thoſe of the confederates, and it pains both were at, in perſuading France to ept them. But nothing of this can give the leaſt ſfaction to the juſt complaints of the kingdom. to the war, our grievances are, that a greater l has been laid on us, than was either juſt or eſſary, or than we have been able to bear; that groſſeſt impoſitions have been ſubmitted to, for advancement of private wealth and power, or rder to forward the more dangerous deſigns of

a *faction*,

a *faction*, to both which a peace would have put an end; and that the part of the war which was chiefly our province, which would have been moſt beneficial to us, and deſtructive to the enemy, was wholly neglected. As to a peace, we complain of being deluded by a *mock-treaty*, in which thoſe who negotiated, took care to make ſuch demands, as they knew were impoſſible to be complied with; and, therefore, might ſecurely preſs every article, as if they were in earneſt.

Theſe are ſome of the points I deſign to treat of in the following diſcourſe; with ſeveral others, which I thought it neceſſary, at this time, for the kingdom to be informed of. I think I am not miſtaken in thoſe facts I mention; at leaſt, not in any circumſtance ſo material, as to weaken the conſequences I draw from them.

After ten years wars, with perpetual ſucceſs, to tell us, it is yet impoſſible to have a good peace, is very ſurprizing, and ſeems ſo different from what hath ever happened in the world before, that a man of any party may be allowed ſuſpecting, that we have been either ill uſed, or have not made the moſt of our victories, and might, therefore, deſire to know where the difficulty lay. Then it is natural to enquire into our preſent condition; how long we ſhall be able to go on at this rate; what the conſequences may be, upon the preſent and future ages; and whether a peace, without that impracticable point, which ſome people do ſo much inſiſt on, be really ruinous in itſelf, or equally ſo with the continuance of the war.

THE

THE CONDUCT OF THE ALLIES.*

THE motives that may engage a wiſe prince or ſtate in war, I take to be one or more f theſe: either to check the overgrown power f ſome ambitious neighbour; to recover what ath been unjuſtly taken from them; to revenge ome injury they have received (which all politi- al caſuiſts allow); to aſſiſt ſome ally in a juſt uarrel; or, laſtly, to defend themſelves when hey are invaded. In all theſe caſes, the writers pon politics admit a war to be juſtly undertaken. he laſt is what hath been uſually called *pro aris t focis;* where no expence or endeavour can be o great, becauſe all we have is at ſtake, and, onſequently, our utmoſt force to be exerted; nd the diſpute is ſoon determined, either in afety or utter deſtruction. But, in the other four, I believe

* This was written preparatory to the peace which the mini- rs were then concerting, and which was afterwards perfected Utrecht. It begins by reflections on war in general, and en particularly mentions the ſeveral civil wars in our kingdom. —Unhappy country! torn to pieces by her own ſons; a wretch- l mother of vultures, for whom, like Tityus, ſhe produces new trails, only to be devoured! *Orrery.*

This tract, and remarks on the barrier-treaty, contain the rincipal facts which the author of John Bull has thrown into legory; and greatly illuſtrates that piece, of which indeed it is oſſible they were the ground-work. *Hawkeſ.*

A particular account of the occaſion of this tract, and of the nſequences it produced, may be ſeen in Dr. Swift's life, pre- xed to Vol. I.

I believe it will be found, that no monarch or commonwealth did ever engage beyond a certain degree; never proceeding ſo far, as to exhauſt the ſtrength and ſubſtance of their country by anticipations and loans, which, in a few years, muſt put them in a worſe condition, than any they could reaſonably apprehend from thoſe evils, for the preventing of which they firſt entered into the war; becauſe this would be, to run into real, infallible ruin, only in hopes to remove what might, perhaps, but appear ſo by a probable ſpeculation.

And, as a war ſhould be undertaken upon a juſt and prudent motive, ſo it is ſtill more obvious, that a prince ought maturely to conſider the condition he is in, when he enters on it; whether his coffers be full, his revenues clear of debts, his people numerous and rich, by a long peace and free trade; not over-preſſed with many burdenſome taxes; no violent faction ready to diſpute his juſt prerogative, and thereby weaken his authority at home, and leſſen his reputation abroad. For, if the contrary of all this happen to be his caſe, he will hardly be perſuaded to diſturb the world's quiet and his own, while there is any other way left of preſerving the latter with honour and ſafety.

Suppoſing the war to have commenced upon a juſt motive; the next thing to be conſidered, is, when a prince ought in prudence to receive the overtures of a peace; which I take to be, either when the enemy is ready to yield the point originally contended for, or, when that point is found impoſſible

impoſſible to be ever obtained; or, when contending any longer, although with probability of gaining that point at laſt, would put ſuch a prince and his people in a worſe condition than the preſent loſs of it. All which conſiderations are of much greater force, where a war is managed by an alliance of many confederates, which, in the variety of intereſts among the ſeveral parties, is liable to ſo many unforeſeen accidents.

In a confederate war, it ought to be conſidered, which party has the deepeſt ſhare in the quarrel: for, although each may have their particular reaſons, yet one or two among them will probably be more concerned than the reſt, and therefore ought to bear the greateſt part of the burthen, in proportion to their ſtrength. For example: two princes may be competitors for a kingdom, and it will be your intereſt to take the part of him, who will probably allow you good conditions of trade, rather than of the other, who poſſibly may not. However, that prince, whoſe cauſe you eſpouſe, although never ſo vigorouſly, is the principal in that war, and you, properly ſpeaking, are but a ſecond. Or, a commonwealth may lie in danger to be over-run by a powerful neighbour, which in time may produce very bad conſequences upon your trade and liberty: it is therefore neceſſary, as well as prudent, to lend them aſſiſtance, and help them to win a ſtrong ſecure frontier: but, as they muſt, in courſe, be the firſt and greateſt ſufferers; ſo, in juſtice, they ought to bear the greateſt weight. If a houſe be on fire, it behoves

all in the neighbourhood to run with buckets to quench it; but the owner is ſure to be undone firſt; and it is not impoſſible, that thoſe at next door, may eſcape by a ſhower from heaven, or the ſtillneſs of the weather, or ſome other favourable accident.

But, if an ally, who is not ſo immediately concerned in the good or ill fortune of the war, be ſo generous as to contribute more than the principal party, and even more in proportion to his abilities, he ought, at leaſt, to have his ſhare in what is conquered from the enemy; or, if his romantic diſpoſition tranſport him ſo far, as to expect little or nothing from this, he might, however, hope, that the principals would make it up in dignity and reſpect; and he would, ſurely, think it monſtrous, to find them intermeddling in his domeſtic affairs, preſcribing what ſervants he ſhould keep or diſmiſs, preſſing him perpetually with the moſt unreaſonable demands, and, at every turn, threatening to break the alliance, if he will not comply.

From theſe reflections upon war in general, I deſcend to conſider thoſe wars wherein England hath been engaged ſince the conqueſt. In the civil wars of the Barons, as well as thoſe between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, great deſtruction was made of the nobility and gentry; new families raiſed, and old ones extinguiſhed; but the money ſpent on both ſides, was employed and circulated at home; no public debts contracted; and a very few years of peace quickly ſet all right again.

The

The like may be affirmed even of that unnatural rebellion againſt King Charles I. The uſurpers maintained great armies in conſtant pay, had almoſt continual war with Spain and Holland; but, managing it by their fleets, they increaſed very much the riches of the kingdom, inſtead of exhauſting them.

Our foreign wars were generally againſt Scotland or France; the firſt being in this iſland, carried no money out of the kingdom, and were ſeldom of long continuance. During our firſt wars with France, we poſſeſſed great dominions in that country, where we preſerved ſome footing till the reign of Queen Mary; and although ſome of our later princes made very chargeable expeditions thither, a ſubſidy, and two or three fifteenths, cleared all the debt. Beſides, our victories were then of ſome uſe, as well as glory; for we were ſo prudent to fight, and ſo happy to conquer, only for ourſelves.

The Dutch wars, in the reign of K. Charles II. although begun and carried on under a very corrupt adminiſtration, and much to the diſhonour of the crown, did indeed keep the King needy and poor, by diſcontinuing or diſcontenting his parliament, when he moſt needed their aſſiſtance; but neither left any debt upon the nation, nor carried any money out of it.

At the *revolution*, a general war broke out in Europe, wherein many princes joined in alliance againſt France, to check the ambitious deſigns of that monarch; and here, the Emperor, the Dutch,

and England, were principals. About this time, the cuſtom firſt began among us, of borrowing millions upon funds of intereſt. It was pretended, that the war could not poſſibly laſt above one or two campaigns; and that the debts contracted, might be eaſily paid in a few years, by a gentle tax, without burthening the ſubject. But the true reaſon for embracing this expedient, was, the ſecurity of a new prince not firmly ſettled on the throne. People were tempted to lend, by great premiums and large intereſt; and it concerned them nearly to preſerve that government, which they had truſted with their money. The perſon* ſaid to have been author of ſo deteſtable a project, lived to ſee ſome of its fatal conſequences, whereof his grand-children will not ſee an end. And this pernicious council cloſed very well with the poſture of affairs at that time: for a ſet of upſtarts, who had little or no part in the *revolution*, but valued themſelves upon their noiſe and pretended zeal, when the work was over, were got into credit at court, by the merit of becoming undertakers and projectors of loans and funds: theſe, finding that the gentlemen of eſtates were not willing to come into their meaſures, fell upon thoſe new ſchemes, of raiſing money, in order to create a moneyed intereſt, that might in time vie with the landed, and of which they hoped to be at the head.

The ground of the firſt war, for ten years after the *revolution*, as to the part we had in it, was, to make

* Dr. Burnet, biſhop of Sarum.

make France acknowlege the late king, and recover Hudſon's bay. But during that whole war, the ſea was almoſt entirely neglected, and the greateſt part of *ſix* millions annually employed to enlarge the frontier of the Dutch. For the king was a general, but not an admiral; and, although King of England, was a native of Holland.

After ten years fighting to little purpoſe, after he loſs of above an hundred thouſand men, and a debt remaining of twenty millions, we at length hearkened to the terms of peace, which was concluded with great advantages to the Empire and Holland, but none at all to us; and clogged ſoon after with the famous treaty of *partition*, by which Naples, Sicily, and Lorrain, were to be added to the French dominions; or, if that crown ſhould think fit to ſet aſide the treaty, upon the Spaniards refuſing to accept it, as they declared they would, to the ſeveral parties at the very time of tranſacting it, then the French would have pretenſions to the whole monarchy. And ſo it proved in the event; for the late king of Spain, reckoning it an indignity to have his territories cantoned out into parcels by other princes during his own life, and without his conſent, rather choſe to bequeath the monarchy entire to a younger ſon of France; and this Prince was acknowlegded for king of Spain, both by us and Holland.

It muſt be granted, that the counſels of entering into this war, were violently oppoſed by the *church-party*, who firſt adviſed the late king to acknowledge the Duke of Anjou; and particularly,

it is affirmed, that a certain *great perſon*, * who was then in the church-intereſt, told the King, in November 1701, that ſince his Majeſty was determined to engage in a war ſo contrary to his private opinion, he could ſerve him no longer, and accordingly gave up his employment; although he happened afterwards to change his mind, when he was to be at the head of the treaſury, and have the ſole management of affairs at home, while thoſe abroad were to be in the hands of *one*, † whoſe advantage, by all ſorts of ties, he was engaged to promote.

The declarations of war againſt France and Spain, made by us and Holland, are dated within a few days of each other. In that publiſhed by the States, they ſay very truly, that "they are "neareſt and moſt expoſed to the fire; *that* they "are blocked up on all ſides, and actually attacked "by the kings of France and Spain; *that* their "declaration is the effect of an urging and preſ-"ſing neceſſity;" with other expreſſions to the ſame purpoſe. They *deſire the aſſiſtance of all kings and princes*, &c. The grounds of their quarrel with France, are ſuch as only affect themſelves, or at leaſt more immediately than any other prince or ſtate; ſuch as, "the French refu-"ſing to grant the tariff promiſed by the treaty "of Ryſwick; the loading the Dutch inhabitants "ſettled in France with exceſſive duties, contra-"ry to the ſaid treaty; the violation of the *par-*"*tition* treaty, by the French accepting the king "of

* Earl of Godolphin. † Duke of Marlborough.

'of Spain's will, and threatening the States if 'they would not comply; the ſeizing the Spa-'niſh Netherlands by the French troops, and 'turning out the Dutch, who, by permiſſion of 'the late king of Spain, were in garriſon there; 'by which means, that republic was deprived of 'her barrier, contrary to the treaty of *partition*, 'where it was particularly ſtipulated, that the 'Spaniſh Netherlands ſhould be left to the 'Archduke." They alledged, that "the French 'king governed Flanders as his own, although 'under the name of his grandſon, and ſent 'great numbers of troops thither to fright 'them; * that he had ſeized the city and citadel 'of Liege; had poſſeſſed himſelf of ſeveral pla-'ces in the archbiſhopric of Cologne, and main-'tained troops in the county of Wolfenbuttel, 'in order to block up the Dutch on all ſides; 'and cauſed his reſident to give in a memorial, 'wherein he threatened the States, to act againſt 'them, if they refuſed complying with the con-'tents of that memorial."

The Queen's declaration of war, is grounded upon the *grand alliance*, as this was upon the unjuſt uſurpations and encroachments of the French king; whereof the inſtances produced, were, "his keeping in poſſeſſion a great part of the 'Spaniſh dominions, ſeizing Milan and the Spa-'niſh Low-Countries, making himſelf maſter of 'Cadiz, *&c.* and, inſtead of giving ſatisfac-"tion

* This, the author of John Bull calls, *frighting the children out of their bread and butter. Hawkeſ.*

" tion in theſe points, his putting an indignity " and affront on her Majeſty and kingdoms, by " declaring the pretended Prince of Wales K. of " England," &c. Which laſt was the only perſonal quarrel we had in the war; and even this was poſitively denied by France, that king being willing to acknowledge her Majeſty.

I think it plainly appears by both declarations, that England ought no more to have been a principal in this war, than Pruſſia, or any other power, who came afterwards into that alliance. Holland was firſt in danger, the French troops being at that time juſt at the gates of Nimeguen. But the complaints made in our declaration, do all, except the laſt, as much, or more, concern almoſt every prince in Europe.

For, among the ſeveral parties who came firſt or laſt into this confederacy, there were few, but who, in proportion, had more to get or to loſe, to hope or to fear, from the good or ill ſucceſs of this war, than we. The Dutch took up arms to defend themſelves from immediate ruin; and, by a ſucceſsful war, they propoſed to have a larger extent of country, and a better frontier againſt France. The Emperor hoped to recover the monarchy of Spain, or ſome part of it, for his younger ſon, chiefly at the expence of us and Holland. The king of Portugal had received intelligence, that Philip deſigned to renew the old pretenſions of Spain upon that kingdom, which is ſurrounded by the other on all ſides, except towards the ſea; and could therefore only be defended

nded by *maritime powers*. This, with the ad-
ntageous terms offered by K. Charles, as well as
r us, prevailed with that prince to enter into
e alliance. The Duke of Savoy's temptations
id fears were yet greater: the main charge of
e war, on that ſide, was to be ſupplied by Eng-
nd, and the profit to redound to him. In
ſe Milan ſhould be conquered, it was ſtipulat-
l, that his Highneſs ſhould have the dutchy of
ſontferrat, belonging to the duke of Mantua,
e provinces of Alexandria, Valencia, and Lo-
ellino, with other lands between the Po and
anaro, together with the Vigevenaſco, or, in
:u of it, an equivalent out of the province of
avara, adjoining to his own ſtate; beſides
hatever elſe could be taken from France, on
at ſide, by the confederate forces. Then he
as in terrible apprehenſions of being ſurround-
l by France, who had ſo many troops in the
ilaneſe, and might have eaſily ſwallowed up
s whole dutchy.

The reſt of the allies came in purely for ſubſi-
es, whereof they ſunk conſiderable ſums into
eir own coffers, and refuſed to ſend their *contin-
nt* to the Emperor, alledging their troops were
ready hired by England and Holland.

Some time after the Duke of Anjou's ſucceed-
g to the monarchy of Spain, in breach of the
rtition treaty, the queſtion here in England was,
hether the peace ſhould be continued, or a new
ar begun? Thoſe who were for the former, al-
dged the debts and difficulties we laboured un-
der;

der; that both we and the Dutch had already acknowledged Philip for king of Spain; that the inclinations of the Spaniards to the houſe of Auſtria, and their averſion from that of Bourbon, were not ſo ſurely to be reckoned upon, as ſome would pretend: that we thought it a piece of inſolence, as well as injuſtice, in the French, to offer putting a king upon us; and the Spaniards would conceive we had as little reaſon to force one upon them: that it was true, the nature and genius of thoſe two people differed very much, and ſo would probably continue to do, as well under a king of French blood, as one of Auſtrian; but that if we ſhould engage in a war for dethroning the Duke of Anjou, we ſhould certainly effect what, by the progreſs and operations of it, we endeavoured to prevent; I mean, an union of intereſt and affections between the two nations; for the Spaniards muſt of neceſſity call in French troops to their aſſiſtance; this would introduce French counſellors into king Philip's court, and this by degrees would habituate and reconcile the two nations: that to aſſiſt king Charles by Engliſh and Dutch forces, would render him odious to his new ſubjects, who have nothing in ſo great abomination as thoſe whom they hold for *heretics*: that the French would, by this means, become maſters of the treaſures in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies: that in the laſt war, when Spain, Cologne, and Bavaria, were in our alliance, and, by a moſt computation, brought ſixty thouſand men into the field againſt the common enemy; when Flan-

ders,

, the ſeat of war, was on our ſide, and his eſty, a prince of great valour and conduct, he head of the whole confederate army; yet had no reaſon to boaſt of our ſucceſs: how ı ſhould we be able to oppoſe France, with e powers againſt us, which would carry ſixty ıſand men from us to the enemy; and ſo :e us, upon the balance, weaker by one hun- l and twenty thouſand men at the beginning his war, than of that in 1688?

)n the other ſide, thoſe, whoſe opinion, or e private motives, inclined them to give their ce for entering into a new war, alledged how gerous it would be for England, that Philip ıld be king of Spain; that we could have no rity for our trade, while that kingdom was e&t to a prince of the Bourbon family, nor hopes of preſerving the balance of Europe; ıuſe the grandfather would in effect be king, le his grandſon had but the title, and there- ıave a better opportunity than ever, of pur- g his deſign for univerſal monarchy. Theſe, the like arguments, prevailed; and ſo, with- offering at any other remedy, without ta- ; time to conſider the conſequences, or to :t on our own condition, we haſtily enga- in a war, which hath coſt us ſixty millions; , after repeated, as well as unexpected ſucceſs ırms, hath put us and our poſterity in a worſe dition, not only than any of our allies, but ı our conquered enemies themſelves.

The part we have acted in the conduct of this whole

whole war, with reference to our allies abroad, and to a prevailing faction at home, is what I ſhall now particularly examine; where, I preſume, it will appear, by plain matters of fact, that no nation, was ever ſo long or ſo ſcandalouſly abuſed, by the folly, the temerity, the corruption, and the ambition of its domeſtic enemies; or treated with ſo much inſolence, injuſtice, and ingratitude, by its foreign friends.

This will be manifeſt, by proving the three following points:

Firſt, That againſt all manner of prudence or common reaſon, we engaged in this war as principals, when we ought to have acted only as auxiliaries.

Secondly, That we ſpent all our vigour in purſuing that part of the war, which could leaſt anſwer the end we propoſed by beginning it; and made no efforts at all, where we could have moſt weakened the common enemy, and, at the ſame time, enriched ourſelves.

Laſtly, That we ſuffered each of our allies to break every article in thoſe treaties and agreements by which they were bound, and to lay the burthen upon us.

Upon the firſt of theſe points, that we ought to have entered into this war only as auxiliaries, let any man reflect upon our condition at that time: Juſt come out of the moſt tedious, expenſive, and unſucceſsful war that ever England had been engaged in;* ſinking under heavy debts, of

* I was then lean, being juſt come out of a fit of ſickneſs. John Bull, part 2. chap. 6. Vol. VII.

of a nature and degree never heard of by us or our anceſtors; the bulk of the gentry and people heartily tired of the war, and glad of a peace, although it brought no other advantage but itſelf; no ſudden proſpect of leſſening our taxes, which were grown as neceſſary to pay our debts as to raiſe armies; a ſort of artificial wealth of funds and ſtocks in the hands of thoſe who, for ten years before, had been plundering the public; many corruptions, in every branch of our government, that needed reformation. Under theſe difficulties, from which twenty years peace, and the wiſeſt management, could hardly recover us, we declared war againſt France, fortified by the acceſſion and alliance of thoſe powers I mentioned before, and which, in the former war, had been parties in our confederacy. It is very obvious, what a change muſt be made in the balance, by ſuch weights taken out of our ſcale, and put into theirs; ſince it was manifeſt, by ten years experience, that France, without thoſe additions of ſtrength, was able to maintain itſelf againſt us. So that human probability ran, with mighty odds, on the other ſide; and, in this caſe, nothing under the moſt extreme neceſſity, ſhould force any ſtate to engage in a war. We had already acknowledged Philip for king of Spain; neither does the Queen's declaration of war take notice of the duke of Anjou's ſucceſſion to that monarchy, as a ſubject of quarrel, but the French King's governing it as if it were his own; his ſeizing Cadiz, Milan, and the Spaniſh Low

Countries, with the indignity of proclaiming the pretender. In all which, we charge that prince with nothing directly relating to us, excepting the laſt: and this, although, indeed, a great affront, might eaſily have been redreſſed, without a war; for the French court declared, they did not acknowledge the pretender, but only gave him the title of king, which was allowed to Auguſtus by his enemy of Sweden, who had driven him out of Poland, and forced him to acknowledge Staniſlaus.

It is true, indeed, the danger of the Dutch, by ſo ill a neighbourhood in Flanders, might affect us very much, in the conſequences of it; and the loſs of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria, if it ſhould be governed by French influence, and French politics, might, in time, be very pernicious to our trade. It would, therefore, have been prudent, as well as generous and charitable, to help our neighbour; and ſo we might have done, without injuring ourſelves; for, by an old treaty with Holland, we were bound to aſſiſt that republic with ten thouſand men, whenever they were attacked by the French; whoſe troops, upon the king of Spain's death, taking poſſeſſion of of Flanders, in right of Philip, and ſecuring the Dutch garriſons till they would acknowledge him, the States-General, by memorials from their envoy here, demanded only the ten thouſand men we were obliged to give them, by virtue of that treaty. And I make no doubt, but the Dutch would have exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, as to be able, with that aſſiſtance alone,

one, to defend their frontiers; or, if they had been forced to a peace, the Spaniards, who abhor diſmembering their monarchy, would never have ſuffered the French to poſſeſs themſelves of Flanders. At that time, they had none of thoſe endearments to each other, which this war hath created; and, whatever hatred and jealouſy were natural between the two nations, would then have appeared. So that there was no ſort of neceſſity for us to proceed further, although we had been in a better condition. But, our politicians, at that time, had other views; and a new war muſt be undertaken, upon the advice of thoſe, who, with their partiſans and adherents, were to be the ſole gainers by it. A grand alliance was therefore made between the Emperor, England, and the States-General; by which, if the injuries complained of from France, were not remedied in two months, the parties concerned were obliged mutually to aſſiſt each other *with their own ſtrength.*

Thus we became parties in a war, in conjunction with two allies, whoſe ſhare in the quarrel was beyond all proportion greater than ours. However, I can ſee no reaſon from the words of the grand alliance, by which we were obliged to make thoſe prodigious expences we have ſince been at. By what I have always heard and read, I take the *whole ſtrength of a nation*, as underſtood in that treaty, to be, the utmoſt that a prince can raiſe annually from his ſubjects. If he be forced to mortgage and borrow, whether at

home or abroad, it is not, properly ſpeaking, *his own ſtrength*, or that of the nation, but the entire ſubſtance of particular perſons; which, not being able to raiſe out of the annual income of his kingdom, he takes upon ſecurity, and can only pay the intereſt. And, by this method, one part of the nation is pawned to the other, with hardly a poſſibility left of being ever redeemed.

Surely, it would have been enough for us to have ſuſpended the payment of our debts contracted in the former war, and to have continued our land and malt tax, with thoſe others, which have ſince been mortgaged: theſe, with ſome additions, would have made up ſuch a ſum, as, with prudent management, might, I ſuppoſe, have maintained an hundred thouſand men by ſea and land; a reaſonable *quota*, in all conſcience, for that ally, who apprehended leaſt danger, and expected leaſt advantage. Nor can we imagine, that either of the confederates, when the war began, would have been ſo unreaſonable, as to refuſe joining with us upon ſuch a foot, and expect that we ſhould every year go between three or four millions in debt (which hath been our caſe) becauſe the French could hardly have contrived any offers of a peace ſo ruinous to us as ſuch a war. Poſterity will be at a loſs to conceive, what kind of ſpirit could poſſeſs their anceſtors, who, after ten years ſuffering by the unexampled politics of a nation maintaining war by annually pawning itſelf; and during a ſhort peace, while they were looking back with horror on the heavy

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ads of debts they had contracted; univerſally ondemning thoſe pernicious counſels which had caſioned them; racking their invention for ſome medies or expedients to mend their ſhattered ondition; I ſay, that theſe very people, without giving themſelves time to breathe, ſhould gain enter into a more dangerous, chargeable, nd expenſive war, for the ſame, or perhaps a reater period of time, and without any apparent eceſſity. It is obvious in a private fortune, that hoever annually runs out, and continues the ame expences, muſt every year mortgage a greater uantity of land than he did before; and as the ebt doubles and trebles upon him, ſo doth his nability to pay it. By the ſame proportion, we ave ſuffered twice as much by this laſt ten years war, as we did by the former; and if it were oſſible to continue it five years longer, at the ame rate, it would be as great a burthen as the hole twenty. This computation being ſo eaſy and rivial, that it is almoſt a ſhame to mention it, poſteity will think, that thoſe who firſt adviſed the war, anted either the ſenſe or the honeſty to conſider it.

And as we have waſted our ſtrength and vital ubſtance in this profuſe manner, ſo we have hamefully miſapplied it to ends at leaſt very different from thoſe, for which we undertook the war, and often to effect others, which, after a peace, we may ſeverely repent. This is the ſecond article I propoſed to examine.

We have now, for ten years together, turned the whole force and expence of the war where

the enemy was beſt able to hold us at a bay; where we could propoſe no manner of advantage to ourſelves; where it was highly impolitic to enlarge our conqueſt; utterly neglecting that part, which would have ſaved and gained us many millions, which the perpetual maxims of our government teach us to purſue; which would have ſooneſt weakned the enemy, and muſt either have promoted a ſpeedy peace, or enabled us to continue the war.

Thoſe who are fond of continuing the war, cry up our conſtant ſucceſs at a moſt prodigious rate, and reckon it infinitely greater, than, in all human probability, we had reaſon to hope. Ten glorious campaigns are paſſed, and now at laſt, like the ſick man, we are juſt expiring, with all ſorts of good ſymptoms. Did the adviſers of this war ſuppoſe it would continue ten years, without expecting the ſucceſs we have had; and yet, at the ſame time, determine, that France muſt be reduced, and Spain ſubdued, by employing our whole ſtrength upon Flanders? Did they believe, the laſt war left us in a condition to furniſh ſuch vaſt ſupplies, for ſo long a period, without involving us, and our poſterity, in inextricable debts? If, after ſuch miraculous *doings*, we are not yet in a condition of bringing France to our terms, nor can tell when we ſhall be ſo, although we ſhould proceed without any reverſe of fortune; what could we look for, in the ordinary courſe of things, but a Flanders war of at leaſt twenty years longer? Do they, indeed, think, a town taken

taken for the Dutch, a ſufficient recompenſe to us for ſix millions of money; which is of ſo little conſequence to determine the war, that the French may yet hold out a dozen years more, and afford a town every campaign at the ſame price?

I ſay not this, by any means, to detract from the army, or its leaders. Getting into the enemy's lines, paſſing rivers, and taking towns, may be actions attended with many glorious circumſtances; but, when all this brings no real ſolid advantage to us; when it hath no other end, than to enlarge the territories of the Dutch, and increaſe the fame and wealth of our General; I conclude, however it comes about, that things are not as they ſhould be; and that, ſurely, our forces and money might be better employed, both towards reducing our enemy, and working out ſome benefit to ourſelves. But, the caſe is ſtill much harder; we are deſtroying many thouſand lives, exhauſting our ſubſtance, not for our own intereſt, which would be but common prudence; not for a thing indifferent, which would be ſufficient folly, but, perhaps, to our own deſtruction; which is perfect madneſs. We may live to feel the effects of our own valour more ſenſibly, than all the conſequences we imagine from the dominions of Spain, in the Duke of Anjou. We have conquered a noble territory for the States, that will maintain ſufficient troops to defend itſelf, and feed many hundred thouſand inhabitants; where all encouragement will be given, to introduce and improve manufactures, which

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was the only advantage they wanted; and which, added to their ſkill, induſtry, and parſimony, will enable them to under-ſell us in every market of the world.

Our ſupply of forty thouſand men, according to the firſt ſtipulation, added to the quotas of the Emperor and Holland, which they were obliged to furniſh, would have made an army of near two hundred thouſand, excluſive of garriſons: enough to withſtand all the power that France could bring againſt it; and we might have employed the reſt much better, both for the common cauſe, and our own advantage.

The war in Spain muſt be imputed to the credulity of our miniſters, who ſuffered themſelves to be perſuaded by the Imperial court, that the Spaniards were ſo violently affected to the houſe of Auſtria, as, upon the firſt appearance there with a few troops under the Archduke, the whole kingdom would immediately revolt. This we tried; and found the Emperor to have deceived either us or himſelf. Yet, there we drove on the war, at a prodigious diſadvantage, with great expence; and, by a moſt corrupt management, the only General,* who, by a courſe of conduct and fortune almoſt miraculous, had nearly put us into poſſeſſion of that kingdom, was left wholly unſupported, expoſed to the envy of his rivals, diſappointed by the caprices of a young unexperienced prince, under the guidance of a rapacious German miniſtry, and at laſt called

* The Earl of Peterborough.

ed home in diſcontent. By which, our armies, both in Spain and Portugal, were made a ſacrifice to avarice, ill conduct, or treachery.

In common prudence, we ſhould either have puſhed that war with the utmoſt vigour, in ſo fortunate a juncture; eſpecially, ſince the gaining that kingdom, was the great point, for which we pretended to continue the war; or, at leaſt, when we had *found*, or *made* that deſign impracticable, we ſhould not have gone on in ſo expenſive a management of it; but we have kept our troops on the defenſive in Catalonia, and purſued ſome other way more effectual for diſtreſſing the common enemy, and advantaging ourſelves.

And, what a noble field of honour and profit had we before us, wherein to employ the beſt of our ſtrength; which, againſt all maxims of Britiſh policy, we ſuffered to ly wholly neglected! I have ſometimes wondered how it came to paſs, that the ſtyle of *maritime powers*, by which our allies, in a ſort of contemptuous manner, uſually couple us with the Dutch, did never put us in mind of the ſea; and, while ſome politicians were ſhewing us the way to Spain by Flanders, others to Savoy or Naples, that the Weſt-Indies ſhould never come into their heads. With half the charge we have been at, we might have maintained our original *quota* of forty thouſand men in Flanders; and, at the ſame time, by our fleets and naval forces, have ſo diſtreſſed the Spaniards in the north and ſouth ſeas of America, as to prevent any returns of money from thence, except

except in our own bottoms. This is what beſt became us to do, as a *maritime power*; this, with any common degree of ſucceſs, would ſoon have compelled France to the neceſſities of a peace, and Spain to acknowledge the Archduke. But, while we, for ten years, have been ſquandering away our money upon the continent, France hath been wiſely engroſſing all the trade of Peru, going directly with their ſhips to Lima, and other ports, and there receiving ingots of gold and ſilver for French goods, of little value; which, beſides the mighty advantage to their nation at preſent, may divert the channel of that trade for the future, ſo beneficial to us, who uſed to receive annually ſuch vaſt ſums at Cadiz for our goods ſent thence to the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. All this we tamely ſaw and ſuffered, without the leaſt attempt to hinder it; except what was performed by ſome private men at Briſtol; who, inflamed by a true ſpirit of courage and induſtry, did, about three years ago, with a few veſſels fitted out at their own charge, make a moſt ſucceſsful voyage into thoſe parts; took one of the Acapulco ſhips, very narrowly miſſed the other, and are lately returned, laden with unenvied wealth, to ſhew us what might have been done with the like management by a public undertaking. At leaſt, we might eaſily have prevented thoſe great returns of money to France and Spain, although we could not have taken it ourſelves. And if it be true, as the advocates for war would have it, that the French are now ſo impoveriſhed,

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in what condition muſt they have been, if that iſſue of wealth had been ſtopped?

But great events often turn upon very ſmall circumſtances. It was the kingdom's misfortune, that the ſea was not the Duke of Marlborough's element; otherwiſe, the whole force of the war would infallibly have been beſtowed there, infinitely to the advantage of his country, which would then have gone hand in hand with his own. But, it is very truly objected, that if we alone had made ſuch an attempt as this, Holland would have been jealous; or, if we had done it in conjunction with Holland, the houſe of Auſtria would have been diſcontented. This hath been the ſtyle of late years; which, whoever introduced among us, they have taught our allies to ſpeak after them. Otherwiſe, it could hardly enter into any imagination, that, while we were confederates in a war with thoſe who are to have the whole profit, and who leave a double ſhare of the burthen upon us, we dare not think of any deſign (although againſt the common enemy) where there is the leaſt proſpect of doing good to our own country, for fear of giving umbrage and offence to our allies; while we are ruining ourſelves, to conquer provinces and kingdoms for them. I therefore confeſs, with ſhame, that this objection is true: for, it is very well known, that, while the deſign of Mr. Hill's expedition* remained

* The expedition in 1711, wherein Sir Hovenden Walker commanded the fleet, and Mr. Hill the land forces, for the reduction of Quebec and Canada, and regaining the Newfoundland fiſhery, which the French had taken from us. *Hawkeſ.*

remained a ſecret, it was ſuſpected, in Holland and Germany, to be intended againſt Peru; whereupon the Dutch made every-where their public complaints; and the miniſters at Vienna talked of it as an *inſolence in the Queen, to attempt* [illegible]: which, although it has failed, partly by the accidents of a ſtorm, and partly by the ſtubbornneſs or treachery of ſome in that colony, for whoſe relief, and at whoſe entreaty, it was, in ſome meaſure, deſigned, is no objection at all to an enterpriſe ſo well concerted, and with ſuch fair probability of ſucceſs.

It was ſomething ſingular, that the States ſhould expreſs their uneaſineſs, when they thought we intended to make ſome attempt in the Spaniſh Weſt Indies; becauſe it is agreed between us, that whatever is conquered there by us or them, ſhall belong to the conqueror; which is the only article that I can call to mind, in all our treaties or ſtipulations, with any view of intereſt to this kingdom; and, for that very reaſon, I ſuppoſe, among others, hath been altogether neglected. Let thoſe, who think this too ſevere a reflection, examine the whole management of the preſent war by ſea and land, with all our alliances, treaties, ſtipulations, and conventions, and conſider whether the whole doth not look, as if ſome particular care and induſtry had been uſed to prevent any benefit or advantage that might poſſibly accrue to Britain.

This kind of treatment from our two principal allies, hath taught the ſame dialect to all the reſt; ſo

› that there is not a petty prince, whom we half ıaintain by ſubſidies and penſions, who is not :ady, upon every occaſion, to threaten us, that ɛ will recal his troops (although they muſt rob · ſtarve at home) if we refuſe to comply with im in any demand, however unreaſonable.

Upon the third head, I ſhall produce ſome inances, to ſhew, how tamely we have ſuffered ıch of our allies to infringe every article in thoſe eaties and ſtipulations, by which they were ɔund; and to lay the load upon us.

But before I enter upon this, which is a large ıbject, I ſhall take leave to offer a few remarks n certain articles in three of our treaties; which ıay let us perceive, how much thoſe miniſters alued or underſtood the true intereſt, ſafety, or onour of their country.

We have made two alliances with Portugal, n offenſive and a defenſive: the firſt is to reıain in force, only during the preſent war; the :cond to be perpetual. In the offenſive alliance, he Emperor, England, and Holland, are parties vith Portugal; in the defenſive, only we and the ıtates.

Upon the firſt article of the offenſive alliance, t is to be obſerved, that although the grand alıance, as I have already ſaid, allows England nd Holland to poſſeſs, for their own, whatever ach of them ſhall conquer in the Spaniſh Weſt ndies; yet there we are quite cut out, by conenting, that the Archduke ſhall poſſeſs the doninions of Spain, in as full a manner as their

late K. Charles. And, what is more remarkable, we broke this very article in favour of Portugal, by ſubſequent ſtipulations; where we agree, that K. Charles ſhall deliver up Eſtramadura, Vigo, and ſome other places to the Portugueſe, as ſoon as we can conquer them from the enemy. They, who are guilty of ſo much folly and contradiction, know beſt, whether it proceeded from corruption or ſtupidity.

By two other articles (beſides the honour of being convoys and guards in ordinary to the Portugueſe ſhips and coaſts) we are to gueſs the enemy's thoughts, and to take the king of Portugal's word, whenever he hath a fancy that he ſhall be invaded. We are alſo to furniſh him with a ſtrength ſuperior to what the enemy intends to invade any of his dominions with, let that be what it will. And until we know what the enemy's forces are, his Portugueſe Majeſty is ſole judge what ſtrength is ſuperior, and what will be able to prevent an invaſion; and may ſend our fleets, whenever he pleaſes, upon his errands, to ſome of the farther parts of the world, or keep them attending upon his own coaſts, till he thinks fit to diſmiſs them. Theſe fleets muſt likewiſe be ſubject in all things, not only to the king, but to his viceroys, admirals, and governors, in any of his foreign dominions, when he is in an humour to apprehend an invaſion; which, I believe, is an indignity that was never offered before, except to a conquered nation.

In the defenſive alliance with that crown, which

hich is to remain perpetual, and where only ngland and Holland are parties with them, the me care, in almoſt the ſame words, is taken for ır fleet to attend their coaſts and foreign domi-ons, and to be under the ſame obedience. We ıd the States are likewiſe to furniſh them with velve thouſand men at our own charge, which e are conſtantly to recruit; and theſe are to be ıbject to the Portugueſe generals.

In the offenſive alliance, we took no care of hav-ıg the aſſiſtance of Portugal, whenever we ſhould e invaded: but in this, it ſeems, we are wiſer; ır that King is obliged to make war on France r Spain, whenever we or Holland are invaded y either; but before this, we are to ſupply him ·ith the ſame forces both by ſea and land, as if e were invaded himſelf. And this muſt needs e a very prudent and ſafe courſe for a *maritime ›wer* to take upon a ſudden invaſion; by which, ıſtead of making uſe of our fleets and arms for ur own defence, we muſt ſend them abroad, for ıe defence of Portugal.

By the thirteenth article, we are told, what ıis aſſiſtance is, which the Portugueſe are to ive us, and upon what conditions. They are to ırniſh ten men of war: and when England and Iolland ſhall be invaded by France and Spain ›gether, or by Spain alone, in either of theſe aſes, theſe ten Portugueſe men of war are to :rve only upon their own coaſts; where, no doubt, ıey will be of mighty uſe to their allies, and ter-ɔr to the enemy.

How the Dutch were drawn to have a part in either of these two alliances, is not very material to enquire, since they have been so wise as never to observe them; and, I suppose, never intended it; but resolved, as they have since done, to shift the load upon us.

Let any man read these two treaties from the beginning to the end, he will imagine, that the King of Portugal and his ministers sat down and made them by themselves, and then sent them to their allies to sign; the whole spirit and tenor of them, quite through, running only upon this single point, what we and Holland are to do for Portugal, without any mention of an equivalent, except those ten ships, which, at the time when we have greatest need of their assistance, are obliged to attend upon their own coasts.

The barrier-treaty between Great Britain and Holland, was concluded at the Hague, on the 29th of October, in the year 1709. In this treaty, neither her Majesty, nor her kingdoms, have any interest or concern, further than what is mentioned in the second and the twentieth articles: by the former, the States are to assist the Queen, in defending the act of succession; and by the other, not to treat of a peace, till France hath acknowledged the Queen, and the succession of Hanover, and promised to remove the Pretender out of that king's dominions.

As to the first of these, it is certainly for the safety and interest of the States General, that the protestant succession should be preserved in England;

and; becauſe ſuch a *popiſh* prince as we appre-ended, would infallibly join with France, in the uin of that republic. And the Dutch are as uch bound to ſupport our ſucceſſion, as they re tied to any part of a treaty or league offenſive nd defenſive againſt a common enemy, without ny ſeparate benefit upon that conſideration. Her ajeſty is in the full peaceable poſſeſſion of her ingdoms, and of the hearts of her people; a-ong whom, hardly one in five thouſand is in he Pretender's intereſt. And whether the aſſiſt-nce of the Dutch, to preſerve a right ſo well e-tabliſhed, be an equivalent to thoſe many unrea-onable exorbitant articles in the reſt of the trea-y, let the world judge. What an impreſſion of ur ſettlement muſt it give abroad, to ſee our niniſters offering ſuch conditions to the Dutch, o prevail on them to be guarantees of our acts of arliament! Neither perhaps is it right, in point f policy or good ſenſe, that a foreign power hould be called in, to confirm our ſucceſſion, by ay of a guarantee, but only to acknowledge it; therwiſe, we put it out of the power of our own egiſlature to change our ſucceſſion, without the conſent of that prince or ſtate, who is guarantee, ow much ſoever the neceſſities of the kingdom nay require it.

As to the other article, it is a natural conſe-uence that muſt attend any treaty of peace we an make with France; being only the acknow-edgment of her Majeſty, as Queen of her own ominions, and the right of ſucceſſion by our own

laws, which no foreign power hath any pretence to diſpute.

However, in order to deſerve theſe mighty advantages from the States, the reſt of the treaty is wholly taken up, in directing what we are to do for them.

By the grand alliance, which was the foundation of the preſent war, the Spaniſh Low Countries were to be recovered and delivered to the King of Spain; but by this treaty, that Prince is to poſſeſs nothing in Flanders during the war; and after a peace, the States are to have the military command of about twenty towns, with their dependencies, and four hundred thouſand crowns a year from the King of Spain, to maintain their garriſons. By which means, they will have the command of Flanders, from Newport on the ſea, to Namur on the Maeſe, and be entirely maſters of the Pais de Waas, the richeſt part of thoſe provinces. Further, they have liberty to garriſon any place they ſhall think fit, in the Spaniſh Low Countries, whenever there is an appearance of war; and conſequently, to put garriſons into Oſtend, or where elſe they pleaſe, upon a rupture with England.

By this treaty, likewiſe, the Dutch will, in effect, be entire maſters of all the Low Countries; may impoſe duties, reſtrictions in commerce, and prohibitions at their pleaſure; and in that fertile country, may ſet up all ſorts of manufactures, particularly the woollen, by inviting the diſobliged manufacturers in Ireland, and the French refugees,

refugees, who are ſcattered all over Germany. And as this manufacture encreaſeth abroad, the clothing people of England will be neceſſitated, for want of employment, to follow; and in few years, by help of the low intereſt of money in Holland, Flanders may recover that beneficial trade which we got from them. The landed men of England will then be forced to re-eſtabliſh the ſtaples of wool abroad; and the Dutch, inſtead of being only the carriers, will become the original poſſeſſors of thoſe commodities, with which the greateſt part of the trade of the world is now carried on. And as they increaſe their trade, it is obvious, they will enlarge their ſtrength at ſea, and that ours muſt leſſen in proportion.

All the ports in Flanders are to be ſubject to the like duties, that the Dutch ſhall lay upon the Scheld, which is to be cloſed on the ſide of the States: thus, all other nations are, in effect, ſhut out from trading with Flanders. Yet, in the very ſame article, it is ſaid, that *the States ſhall be favoured in all the Spaniſh dominions, as much as Great Britain, or as the people moſt favoured.* We have conquered Flanders for them, and are in a worſe condition, as to our trade there, than before the war began. We have been the great ſupport of the King of Spain, to whom the Dutch have hardly contributed any thing at all; and yet *they are to be equally favoured with us in all his dominions.* Of all this, the Queen is under the unreaſonable obligation of being guarrantee, and that they ſhall poſſeſs their barrier, and their four

hundred

[illegible] before a [illegible].

[illegible] was only [illegible] *; and I [illegible] †, [illegible] it to [illegible] in due [illegible] on this side [illegible] had then at [illegible] of his country's [illegible] and got as much to himself; therefore, [illegible] I am inclined to think he [illegible] I have been likewise told, that some very necessary circumstances were wanting in the entrance upon this treaty; but the ministers [illegible] the honour of the crown, and the safety of their country, than not ratify what one of their favourites had transacted.

Let me now consider, in what manner our allies have observed those treaties they made with us, and the several stipulations and agreements pursuant to them.

By the grand alliance between the Empire, England, and Holland, we were to assist the other two, *totis viribus*, by sea and land. By a convention subsequent to this treaty, the proportions which the several parties should contribute towards the war, were adjusted in the following manner: the Emperor was obliged to furnish ninety thousand men

* Lord Townshend. See John Bull, part 1. chap. 15. Vol. VII.

† Duke of Marlborough.

men againſt France, either in Italy, or upon the Rhine; Holland to bring ſixty thouſand into the field in Flanders, excluſive of garriſons; and *we* forty thouſand. In winter 1702, which was the next year, the Duke of Marlborough propoſed raiſing ten thouſand men more, by way of augmentation, and to carry on the war with greater vigour; to which the parliament agreed; and the Dutch were to raiſe the ſame number. This was upon a *par*, directly contrary to the former ſtipulation, whereby our part was to be a third leſs than theirs; and therefore, it was granted, with a condition, that Holland ſhould break off all trade and commerce with France. But this condition was never executed; the Dutch only amuſing us with a ſpecious declaration, till our ſeſſion of parliament was ended; and, the following year, it was taken off, by concert between the General and the States, without any reaſon aſſigned, for the ſatisfaction of the kingdom. The next, and ſome enſuing campaigns, further additional forces were allowed by parliament for the war in Flanders; and, in every new ſupply, the Dutch gradually leſſened their proportions, although the parliament addreſſed the Queen, that the States might be deſired to obſerve them according to agreement; which had no other effect, than to teach them to elude it, by making their troops nominal corps; as they did, by keeping up the number of regiments, but ſinking a fifth part of the men and money; ſo that now, things are juſt inverted. And, in all new levies, we contributed a third

third more than the Dutch, who at firſt were obliged to the ſame proportion more than us.

Beſides, the more towns we conquer for the States, the worſe condition we are in towards reducing the common enemy, and, conſequently, of putting an end to the war. For they make no ſcruple of employing the troops of their *quota* towards garriſoning every town, as faſt as it is taken; directly contrary to the agreement between us, by which all garriſons are particularly excluded. This is at length arrived, by ſeveral ſteps, to ſuch a height, that there are at preſent in the field, not ſo many forces under the Duke of Marlborough's command in Flanders, as Britain alone maintains for that ſervice, nor have been for ſome years paſt.

The Duke of Marlborough, having entered the enemy's lines, and taken Bouchain, formed the deſign of keeping ſo great a number of troops, and particularly of cavalry, in Liſle, Tournay, Doway, and the country between, as ſhould be able to haraſs all the neighbouring provinces of France during the winter, prevent the enemy from erecting their magazines, and, by conſequence, from ſubſiſting their forces next ſpring, and render it impoſſible for them to aſſemble their army another year, without going back behind the Soame to do it. In order to effect this project, it was neceſſary to be at an expence extraordinary, of forage for the troops, for building ſtables, finding fire and candle for the ſoldiers, with other incident charges. The Queen readily agreed to

furniſh

furniſh her ſhare of the firſt article, that of the forage, which only belonged to her: but the States inſiſting, that her Majeſty ſhould likewiſe come into a proportion of the other articles, which, in juſtice, belonged totally to them; ſhe agreed even to that, rather than a deſign of this importance ſhould fail. And yet we know it hath failed, and that the Dutch refuſed their conſent, till the time was paſt for putting it in execution, even in the opinion of thoſe who propoſed it. Perhaps a certain article in the treaties of contributions, ſubmitted to by ſuch of the French dominions as pay them to the States, was the principal cauſe of defeating this project; ſince one great advantage to have been gained by it, was, as is before mentioned, to have hindered the enemy from erecting their magazines: and one article in thoſe treaties of contributions, is, that the product of thoſe countries ſhall paſs free and unmoleſted. So that the queſtion was reduced to this ſhort iſſue: whether the Dutch ſhould loſe this paltry benefit, or the common cauſe an advantage of ſuch mighty importance?

The ſea being the element where we might, moſt probably, carry on the war with any advantage to ourſelves, it was agreed, that we ſhould bear five eighths of the charge in that ſervice, and the Dutch the other three; and, by the grand alliance, whatever we, or Holland, ſhould conquer in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, was to accrue to the conquerors. It might, therefore, have been hoped, that this *maritime ally* of ours, would have made

made up in their fleet, what they fell ſhort in their army; but, quite otherwiſe, they never once furniſhed their *quota*, either of ſhips or men; or, if ſome few of their fleet now and then appeared, it was no more than appearing; for they immediately ſeparated, to look to their merchants, and protect their trade. And we may remember very well, when theſe guarantees of our ſucceſſion, after having not one ſhip, for many months together, in the Mediterranean, ſent that part of their *quota* thither, and furniſhed nothing to us, at the ſame time that they alarmed us with the rumour of an invaſion. And laſt year, when Sir James Wiſhart was diſpatched into Holland to expoſtulate with the States, and to deſire they would make good their agreements in ſo important a part of the ſervice; he met with ſuch a reception, as ill became a republic to give, that were under ſo many great obligations to us; in ſhort, ſuch an one, as thoſe only deſerve, who are content to take it.

It hath likewiſe been no ſmall inconvenience to us, that the Dutch are always ſlow in paying their ſubſidies; by which means, the weight and preſſure of the payment lies upon the Queen, as well as the blame, if her Majeſty be not very exact. Nor will even this always content our allies: for, in July 1711, the King of Spain was paid all his ſubſidies to the 1ſt of January next: nevertheleſs, he hath ſince complained for want of money; and his *ſecretary* threatened, that if we would not further ſupply his Majeſty, he could not anſwer for what might happen; although King Charles had

ad not at that time one third of the troops for hich he was paid; and even thoſe he had, were either paid nor clothed.

I cannot forbear mentioning, here, another paſ-ge concerning ſubſidies, to ſhew what opinion reigners have of our eaſineſs, and how much ey reckon themſelves maſters of our money, henever they think fit to call for it. The ueen was, by agreement, to pay two hundred houſand crowns a year to the Pruſſian troops; he States one hundred thouſand; and the Em-eror only thirty thouſand, for recruiting; which is Imperial Majeſty never paid. Prince Eugene appening to paſs by Berlin, the miniſters of that ourt applied to him for redreſs in this particular; nd his Highneſs very frankly promiſed them, hat, in conſideration of this deficiency, Britain nd the States ſhould increaſe their ſubſidies to enty thouſand crowns more between them; nd that the Emperor ſhould be punctual for the ime to come. This was done by that Prince, without any orders or power whatſoever. The Dutch, very reaſonably, refuſed conſenting to it; ut the Pruſſian miniſter here, making his appli-ations at our court, prevailed on us to agree to ur proportion, before we could hear what reſolu-ion would be taken in Holland. It is, therefore, o be hoped, that his Pruſſian Majeſty, at the end f this war, will not have the ſame cauſe of com-laint which he had at the cloſe of the laſt; that is military cheſt was emptier by twenty thouſand rowns, than at the time that war began.

The Emperor, as we have already ſaid, was, by ſtipulation, to furniſh ninety thouſand men againſt the common enemy, as having no fleets to maintain, and, in right of his family, being moſt concerned in the ſucceſs of the war. However, this agreement hath been ſo ill obſerved, that, from the beginning of the war to this day, neither of the two laſt Emperors had ever twenty thouſand men, on their own account, in the common cauſe, excepting once in Italy, when the *imperial* court exerted itſelf in a point they have much more at heart, than that of gaining Spain, or the Indies, to their family. When they had ſucceeded in their attempts on the ſide of Italy, and obſerved our blind zeal for puſhing on the war at all adventures, they ſoon found out the moſt effectual expedient to excuſe themſelves. They computed eaſily, that it would coſt them leſs, to make large preſents to one ſingle perſon, than to pay an army, and turn to as good account. They thought they could not put their affairs into better hands, and therefore wiſely left us to fight their battles.

Beſides, it appeared, by ſeveral inſtances, how little the Emperor regarded his allies, or the cauſe they were engaged in, when once he thought the *empire* itſelf was ſecure. It is known enough, that he might, ſeveral times, have made a peace with his diſcontented ſubjects in Hungary, upon terms not at all unbefitting either his dignity or intereſt: but he rather choſe to ſacrifice the whole alliance to his private paſſion, by entirely ſubduing and enſlaving a miſerable people, who had

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but too much provocation to take up arms, to free themſelves from the oppreſſions under which they were groaning; yet this muſt ſerve as an excuſe for breaking his agreement, and diverting ſo great a body of troops, which might have been employed againſt France.

Another inſtance of the Emperor's indifference, or rather diſlike, to the common cauſe of the allies, is the buſineſs of Toulon. This deſign was indeed diſcovered here at home, by a perſon, whom every body knows to be the creature of a certain *great man*, at leaſt as much noted for his ſkill in gaming as in politics, upon the baſe mercenary end of getting money by wagers, which was then ſo common a practice, that I remember a gentleman in buſineſs, who having the curioſity to enquire how wagers went upon the Exchange, found ſome people, deep in the ſecret, to have been concerned in that kind of traffic; as appeared by premiums named for towns, which no-body but thoſe behind the curtain could ſuſpect. However, although this proſpect had gotten wind by ſo ſcandalous a proceeding; yet Toulon might probably have been taken, if the Emperor had not thought fit, in that very juncture, to detach twelve or fifteen thouſand men to ſeize Naples, as an enterpriſe that was more his private and immediate intereſt. But it was manifeſt, that his Imperial Majeſty had no mind to ſee Toulon in poſſeſſion of the allies; for, even with theſe diſcouragements, the attempt might yet have ſucceeded, if Prince Eugene had not thought fit to

oppoſe it; which cannot be imputed to his own judgment, but to ſome politic reaſons of his court. The Duke of Savoy was for attacking the enemy as ſoon as our army arrived; but when the Mareſchal de Threſſe's troops were all come up, to pretend to beſiege the place, in the condition we were at that time, was a farce and a jeſt. Had Toulon fallen then into our hands, the maritime power of France would, in a great meaſure, have been deſtroyed.

By a much greater inſtance than either of the foregoing, how little the Emperor regarded us or our quarrel, after all we had done to ſave his Imperial crown, and to aſſert the title of his brother to the monarchy of Spain, may be brought from the proceedings of that court not many months ago. It was judged, that a war carried on upon the ſide of Italy, would cauſe a great diverſion of the French forces, wound them in a very tender part, and facilitate the progreſs of our arms in Spain, as well as Flanders. It was propoſed to the Duke of Savoy, to make this diverſion; and not only a diverſion during the ſummer, but the winter too, by taking quarters on this ſide of the hills. Only, in order to make him willing and able to perform this work, two points were to be ſettled: firſt, it was neceſſary to end the diſpute between the *imperial* court and his Royal Highneſs, which had no other foundation than the Emperor's refuſing to make good ſome articles of that treaty, on the faith of which, the Duke engaged in the preſent war, and for the execution

cution whereof, Britain and Holland became guarantees, at the requeſt of the late Emperor Leopold. To remove this difficulty, the Earl of Peterborough was diſpatched to Vienna, got over ſome part of thoſe diſputes to the ſatisfaction of the Duke of Savoy, and had put the reſt in a fair way of being accommodated at the time the Emperor Joſeph died. Upon which great event, the Duke of Savoy took the reſolution of putting himſelf at the head of the army, although the whole matter was not finiſhed, ſince the common cauſe required his aſſiſtance; and that, until a new Emperor were elected, it was impoſſible to make good the treaty to him. In order to enable him, the only thing he aſked, was, that he ſhould be reinforced by the imperial court, with eight thouſand men before the end of the campaign. Mr. Whiteworth was ſent to Vienna, to make this propoſal; and it is credibly reported, that he was impowered, rather than fail, to offer forty thouſand pounds for the march of thoſe eight thouſand men, if he found it was want *of ability, and not inclination*, that hindered the ſending them. But he was ſo far from ſucceeding, that it was ſaid the miniſters of that court did not ſo much as give him an opportunity to tempt them with any particular ſums; but cut off all his hopes at once, by alledging the impoſſibility of complying with the Queen's demands, upon any conſideration whatſoever. They could not plead their old excuſe, of the war in Hungary, which was then brought to an end. They had nothing to offer,

but ſome general ſpeculative reaſons, which it would expoſe them to repeat; and ſo, after much delay, and many trifling pretences, they utterly refuſed ſo ſmall and ſeaſonable an aſſiſtance: to the ruin of a project, that would have more terrified France, and cauſed a greater diverſion of their forces, than a much more numerous army in any other part. Thus, for want of eight thouſand men, for whoſe winter-campaign the Queen was willing to give forty thouſand pounds; and for want of executing the deſign I lately mentioned, of hindering the enemy from erecting magazines, towards which her Majeſty was ready, not only to bear her own proportion, but a ſhare of that which the States were obliged to; our hopes of taking winter-quarters in the north and ſouth parts of France, are eluded, and the war left in that method which is like to continue it longeſt. Can there an example be given, in the whole courſe of this war, where we have treated the pettieſt prince, with whom we had to deal, in ſo contemptuous a manner? Did we ever once conſider what we could afford, or what we were obliged to, when our aſſiſtance was deſired, even while we lay under immediate apprehenſions of being invaded?

When Portugal came as a confederate into the grand alliance, it was ſtipulated, that the Empire, England, and Holland, ſhould each maintain four thouſand men of their own troops in that kingdom, and pay between them a million of pattacoons to the King of Portugal, for the ſupport of twenty eight thouſand Portugueſe; which number of

of forty thouſand was to be the confederate army againſt Spain on the Portugal ſide. This treaty was ratified by all the three powers. But in a ſhort time after, the Emperor declared himſelf unable to comply with his part of the agreement, and ſo left the two-thirds upon us; who very generouſly undertook that burthen, and, at the ſame time, two-thirds of the ſubſidies for maintenance of the Portugueſe troops. But neither is this the worſt part of the ſtory; for although the Dutch did indeed ſend their own *quota* of four thouſand men to Portugal (which, however, they would not agree to, but upon condition that the other two-thirds ſhould be ſupplied by us); yet they never took care to recruit them: for in the year 1706, the Portugueſe, Britiſh, and Dutch forces, having marched with the Earl of Galway into Caſtile, and, by the noble conduct of that general, being forced to retire into Valencia, it was found neceſſary to raiſe a new army on the Portugal ſide: where the Queen hath, at ſeveral times, encreaſed her eſtabliſhment to ten thouſand five hundred men; and the Dutch never replaced one ſingle man, nor paid one penny of their ſubſidies to Portugal, in ſix years.

The Spaniſh army, on the ſide of Catalonia, is, or ought to be, about fifty thouſand men, excluſive of Portugal. And here the war hath been carried on almoſt entirely at our coſt. For this whole army is paid by the Queen, excepting only ſeven battalions and fourteen ſquadrons of Dutch and Palatines; and even fifteen hundred of theſe are likewiſe in our pay; beſides the ſums

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given to King Charles for ſubſidies and the maintenance of his court. Neither are our troops at Gibraltar included within this number. And further, we alone have been at all the charge of tranſporting the forces firſt ſent from Genoa to Barcelona; and of all the *imperial* recruits from time to time. And have likewiſe paid vaſt ſums as levy-money for every individual man and horſe ſo furniſhed to recruit; although the horſes were ſcarce worth the price of tranſportation. But this hath been almoſt the conſtant misfortune of our fleet during the preſent war; inſtead of being employed on ſome enterprize for the good of the nation, or even for the protection of our trade, to be wholly taken up in tranſporting ſoldiers.

We have actually conquered all Bavaria, Ulm, Augſbourg, Landau, and a great part of Alſace, for the Emperor: and by the troops we have furniſhed, the armies we have paid, and the diverſions we have given to the enemies forces, have chiefly contributed to the conqueſts of Milan, Mantua, and Mirandola, and to the recovery of the dutchy of Modena. The laſt Emperor drained the wealth of thoſe countries into his own coffers, without increaſing his troops againſt France by ſuch mighty acquiſitions, or yielding to the moſt reaſonable requeſts we have made.

Of the many towns we have taken for the Dutch, we have conſented, by the barrier treaty, that all thoſe which were not in the poſſeſſion of Spain, upon the death of the Catholic King, ſhall be part of the States dominions; and that they

they ſhall have the military power in the moſt conſiderable of the reſt; which is in effect to be the abſolute ſovereigns of the whole. And the Hollanders have already made ſuch good uſe of their time, that, in conjunction with our General, the oppreſſions of Flanders are much greater than ever.

And this treatment, which we have received from our two principal allies, hath been pretty well copied by moſt other princes in the confederacy, with whom we have any dealings. For inſtance: ſeven Portugueſe regiments, after the battle of Almanza, went off with the reſt of that broken army to Catalonia; the King of Portugal ſaid, he was not able to pay them, while they were out of his country; the Queen conſented, therefore, to do it herſelf, provided the King would raiſe as many more to ſupply their place. This, he engaged to do, but never performed. Notwithſtanding which, his ſubſidies were conſtantly paid him by my Lord Godolphin, for almoſt four years, without any deduction upon account of thoſe ſeven regiments; directly contrary to the ſeventh article of our offenſive alliance with that crown, where it is agreed, that a deduction ſhall be made out of thoſe ſubſidies, in proportion to the number of men wanting in that complement which the King is to maintain. But, whatever might have been the reaſons for this proceeding, it ſeems they are above the underſtanding of the preſent Lord Treaſurer; * who, not entering into thoſe refinements of paying the *public*

* Earl of Oxford.

lic money upon *private* conſiderations, hath been ſo uncourtly as to ſtop it. This diſappointment, I ſuppoſe, hath put the court of Liſbon upon other expedients, of raiſing the price of forage, ſo as to force us, either to leſſen our number of troops, or be at double expence in maintaining them; and this, at a time, when their own product, as well as the import of corn, was never greater; and of demanding a duty upon the ſoldiers clothes we carried over for thoſe troops, which have been their ſole defence againſt an inveterate enemy; and whoſe example might have infuſed courage, as well as taught them diſcipline, if their ſpirits had been capable of receiving either.

In order to augment our forces every year, in the ſame proportion as thoſe for whom we fight diminiſh theirs, we have been obliged to hire troops, from ſeveral princes of the empire, whoſe miniſters and reſidents here, have perpetually importuned the court with unreaſonable demands, under which our late miniſters thought fit to be paſſive. For thoſe demands were always backed with a threat to recal their ſoldiers; which was a thing not to be heard of, becauſe it might *diſcontent the Dutch*. In the mean time, thoſe princes never ſent their contingent to the Emperor, as, by the laws of the empire they are obliged to do; but gave, for their excuſe, that we had already hired all they could poſſibly ſpare.

But, if all this be true; if, according to what I have affirmed, we began this war, contrary to reaſon; if, as the other party themſelves, upon all occaſions,

:caſions, acknowledge, the ſucceſs we have had, as more than we could reaſonably expect; if, ter all our ſucceſs, we have not made that uſe it, which, in reaſon, we ought to have done; we have made weak and fooliſh bargains with ır allies, ſuffered them tamely to break every ticle, even in thoſe bargains, to our diſadvan-ge, and allowed them to treat us with inſolence ıd contempt, at the very inſtant when we were ıining towns, provinces, and kingdoms for them, the price of our ruin, and without any proſpect intereſt to ourſelves; if we have conſumed all ır ſtrength, in attacking the enemy on the ſtrong-t ſide, where (as the old Duke of Schomberg :preſſed it) *to engage with France, was to take a ull by the horns;* and left, wholly unattempted, ıat part of the war, which could only enable us) continue or to end it; if all this, I ſay, be our ıſe, it is a very obvious queſtion to aſk, by what otives, or what management, we are thus be-ome the *dupes* and *bubbles* of Europe? Sure, it ınnot be owing to the ſtupidity ariſing from the ıldneſs of our climate; ſince thoſe among our lies, who have given us moſt reaſon to complain, 'e as far removed from the ſun as ourſelves.

If, in laying open the real cauſes of our preſent ıiſery, I am forced to ſpeak with ſome freedom, think it will require no apology. Reputation the ſmalleſt ſacrifice thoſe can make us, who ave been the inſtruments of our ruin; becauſe is that for which, in all probability, they have ıe leaſt value. So that, in expoſing the actions of

of ſuch perſons, it cannot be ſaid, properly ſpeaking, to do them an injury. But, as it will be ſome ſatisfaction to our people, to know by whom they have been ſo long abuſed, ſo, it may be of great uſe to us, and our poſterity, not to truſt the ſafety of their country in the hands of thoſe, who act by ſuch principles, and from ſuch motives.

I have already obſerved, that when the counſels of this war were debated, in the late King's time, a certain *great man* was then ſo averſe from entering into it, that he rather choſe to give up his employment, and tell the King he could ſerve him no longer. Upon that Prince's death, although the grounds of our quarrel with France had received no manner of addition, yet this Lord thought fit to alter his ſentiments; for the ſcene was quite changed; his Lordſhip, and the family with whom he was engaged, by ſo complicated an alliance, were in the higheſt credit poſſible with the Queen. The treaſurer's ſtaff was ready for his Lordſhip; the Duke * was to command the army, and the Dutcheſs, by her employments, and the favour ſhe was poſſeſſed of, to be always neareſt her Majeſty's perſon; by which, the whole power, at home and abroad, would be devolved upon that family. This was a proſpect ſo very inviting, that, to confeſs the truth, it could not be eaſily withſtood by any, who have ſo keen an appetite for wealth or power. By an agreement, ſubſequent to the grand alliance, we were to aſſiſt the Dutch with forty thouſand men, all to

* Duke of Marlborough.

to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. So that, whether this war was prudently begun, or not, it is plain, that the true ſpring or motive of it, was, the aggrandizing a particular family; and, in ſhort, a war of the *general* and the *miniſtry*, and not of the *prince* or *people*; ſince thoſe very perſons were againſt it, when they knew the power, and, conſequently, the profit, would be in other hands.

With theſe meaſures fell in all that ſet of people called the *monied men*; ſuch as had raiſed vaſt ſums, by trading with ſtocks and funds, and lending upon great intereſt, and premiums; whoſe perpetual harveſt is war, and whoſe beneficial way of traffic muſt very much decline, by a peace.

In that whole chain of encroachments made upon us by the Dutch, which I have above deduced; and under thoſe ſeveral groſs impoſitions from other princes, if any one ſhould aſk, why our General continued ſo eaſy to the laſt? I know no other way ſo probable, or indeed ſo charitable, to account for it, as by that immeaſurable love of wealth, which his beſt friends allow to be his predominant paſſion. However, I ſhall wave any thing that is perſonal upon this ſubject. I ſhall ſay nothing of thoſe great preſents, made by ſeveral princes, which the ſoldiers uſe to call *winter-foraging*, and ſaid it was better than that of the *ſummer*; of two and half *per cent.* ſubtracted out of all the ſubſidies we pay in thoſe parts, which amounts to no inconſiderable ſum; and, laſtly, of the grand perquiſites in a long ſucceſsful war, which are ſo amicably adjuſted between him and the States.

But, when the war was thus begun, there ſoon fell in other incidents here at home, which made the continuance of it neceſſary for thoſe, who were the chief adviſers. The *whigs* were, at that time, out of all credit or conſideration. The reigning favourites had always carried what was called the *tory principles*, at leaſt as high as our conſtitution could bear; and moſt others in great employments, were wholly in the church intereſt. Theſe laſt, among whom were ſeveral perſons of the greateſt merit, quality, and conſequence, were not able to endure the many inſtances of pride, inſolence, avarice, and ambition, which thoſe favourites began ſo early to diſcover, nor to ſee them preſuming to be ſole diſpenſers of the royal favour. However, their oppoſition was to no purpoſe; they wreſtled with too great a power, and were ſoon cruſhed under it. For thoſe in poſſeſſion, finding they could never be quiet in their uſurpations, while others had any credit, who were at leaſt upon an equal foot of merit, began to make overtures to the diſcarded *whigs*, who would be content with any terms of accommodation. Thus commenced this *Solemn League and covenant*, which hath ever ſince been cultivated with ſo much application. The great traders in money, were wholly devoted to the *whigs*, who had firſt raiſed them: the army, the court, and the treaſury, continued under the old *deſpotic* adminiſtration: the *whigs* were received into employment, left to manage the parliament, cry down the landed intereſt, and worry the church. Mean-time, our allies,

allies, who were not ignorant, that all this artificial ſtructure had no true foundation in the hearts of the people, reſolved to make the beſt uſe of it, as long as it ſhould laſt. And the General's credit being raiſed to a great height at home, by our ſucceſs in Flanders, the Dutch began their gradual impoſitions; leſſening their *quotas*, breaking their ſtipulations, garriſoning the towns we took for them, without ſupplying their troops; with many other infringements: all which we were forced to ſubmit to, becauſe the General was *made eaſy*; becauſe the monied men at home were fond of the war; becauſe the *whigs* were not firmly ſettled; and becauſe that exorbitant degree of power, which was built upon a ſuppoſed neceſſity of employing particular perſons, would go off in a peace. It is needleſs to add, that the Emperor, and other princes, followed the example of the Dutch, and ſucceeded as well, for the ſame reaſons.

I have here imputed the continuance of the war to the mutual indulgence between our General and allies, wherein they both ſo well found their accounts; to the fears of the *money-changers*, leſt their *tables ſhould be overthrown*; to the deſigns of the *whigs*, who apprehended the loſs of their credit and employments in a peace; and to thoſe at home, who held their immoderate engroſſments of power and favour by no other tenure, than their own preſumption upon the neceſſity of affairs. The truth of this will appear indiſputable, by conſidering, with what unanimity and concert theſe ſeveral parties acted, towards that great end.

When the vote paſſed in the houſe of Lords, againſt any peace, without Spain being reſtored to the Auſtrian family, the Earl of Wharton told the houſe, that it was indeed impoſſible, and impracticable to recover Spain; but, however, there were *certain reaſons*, why ſuch a vote ſhould be made at that time; which reaſons wanted no explanation; for the General and the miniſtry, having refuſed to accept very advantageous offers of a peace, after the battle of Ramillies, were forced to take in a ſet of men, with a previous bargain, to ſcreen them from the conſequences of that miſcarriage. And, accordingly, upon the firſt ſucceeding opportunity that fell, which was the Prince of Denmark's death *, the chief leaders of the party were brought into ſeveral great employments.

Thus, when the Queen was no longer able to bear the tyranny and inſolence of thoſe ungrateful ſervants, who, as they *waxed the fatter*, did but *kick the more*; our two great allies abroad, and our ſtock-jobbers at home, took immediate alarm; applied the neareſt way to the throne, by memorials and meſſages, jointly directing her Majeſty, not to change her ſecretary or treaſurer; who, for the true reaſons that theſe officious intermeddlers demanded their continuance, ought never to have been admitted into the leaſt degree of truſt; ſince what they did, was nothing leſs than betraying the intereſt of their native country, to thoſe princes, who, in their turns, were to do what they could, to ſupport them in power at home.

Thus,

* Prince George of Denmark, huſband to Q. Anne.

Thus, it plainly appears, that there was a conſpiracy on all ſides, to go on with thoſe meaſures, which muſt perpetuate the war; and a conſpiracy founded upon the intereſt and ambition of each party; which begat ſo firm an union, that, inſtead of wondering why it laſted ſo long, I am aſtoniſhed to think how it came to be broken. The prudence, courage, and firmneſs of her Majeſty, in all the ſteps of that great change, would, if the particulars were truly related, make a very ſhining part in her ſtory; nor is her judgment leſs to be admired, which directed her in the choice of perhaps the only perſons, who had ſkill, credit, and reſolution enough, to be her inſtruments, in overthrowing ſo many difficulties.

Some would pretend to leſſen the merit of this, by telling us, that the rudeneſs, the tyranny, the oppreſſion, the ingratitude of the late favourites, towards their miſtreſs, were no longer to be borne. They produce inſtances, to ſhew, how her Majeſty was purſued through all her retreats, particularly at Windſor; where, after the enemy had poſſeſſed themſelves of every inch of ground, they at laſt attacked and ſtormed the caſtle, forcing the Queen to fly to an adjoining cottage, purſuant to the advice of Solomon, who tells us, *It is better to live on the houſe-top, than with a ſcolding woman in a large houſe.* They would have it, that ſuch continued ill uſage was enough to enflame the meekeſt ſpirit. They blame the favourites in point of policy, and think it nothing extraordinary, that the Queen ſhould be at an end of her patience,

and reſolve to diſcard them. But I am of another opinion, and think their proceedings were right. For nothing is ſo apt to break even the braveſt ſpirits, as a continual chain of oppreſſions; one injury is beſt defended by a ſecond, and this by a third. By theſe ſteps, the old *maſters of the palace* in France, became *maſters of the kingdom**; and, by theſe ſteps, a *General during pleaſure*, might have grown into a *General for life*; and a *General for life* into a *King*. So that I ſtill inſiſt upon it as a wonder, how her Majeſty, thus beſieged on all ſides, was able to extricate herſelf.

Having thus mentioned the real cauſes, although diſguiſed under ſpecious pretences, which have ſo long continued the war, I muſt beg leave to reaſon a little with thoſe perſons, who are againſt any peace, but what they call a *good one*; and explain themſelves, that no peace can be *good*, without an entire reſtoration of Spain to the houſe of Auſtria. It is to be ſuppoſed, that what I am to ſay upon this part of the ſubject, will have little influence on thoſe, whoſe particular ends or deſigns of any ſort, lead them to wiſh the continuance of the war; I mean, the General and our allies abroad, the knot of late favourites at home, the body of ſuch as traffic in ſtocks; and, laſtly, that ſet of factious politicians, who were ſo violently bent, at leaſt, upon *clipping* our conſtitution, in church and ſtate. Therefore, I ſhall not apply myſelf to any of theſe, but to all others indifferently, whether *whigs* or *tories*, whoſe private intereſt is

* See Dedication to Prince Poſterity, in Tale of a Tub, vol. I.

s beſt anſwered by the welfare of their country. ınd if, among theſe, there be any, who think we ught to fight on, till K. Charles be quietly ſettled ı the monarchy of Spain, I believe there are ſeveral ɔints, which they have not thoroughly conſidered.

For, firſt, it is to be obſerved, that this reſolu-on againſt any peace without Spain, is a new in-ident, grafted upon the original quarrel, by the ıtrigues of a faction among us, who prevailed to ive it the ſanction of a vote in both houſes of arliament, to juſtify thoſe, whoſe intereſt lay in erpetuating the war. And, as this proceeding as againſt the practice of all princes and ſtates, hoſe intentions were fair and honourable; ſo is contrary to common prudence, as well as juſtice: might add, that it was impious, too, by preſum-ıg to control events, which are only in the hands f God. Ours and the States complaint againſt rance and Spain, are deduced in each of our de-larations of war, and our pretenſions ſpecified in ıe *eighth article* of the grand alliance; but there not, in any of theſe, the leaſt mention of de-ıanding Spain for the houſe of Auſtria, or of re-ıſing any peace without that condition. Hav-ıg already made an extract from both declara-ons of war, I ſhall here give a tranſlation of the ghth article in the grand alliance, which will ut this matter out of diſpute.

The EIGHTH *Article of the* GRAND ALLIANCE.

"WHEN the war is once undertaken, none of the parties ſhall have the liberty to enter

"upon

" upon a treaty of peace with the enemy, but " jointly, and in concert with the others. Nor " is peace to be made, without having firſt ob- " tained a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for " his Cæſarean Majeſty, and for his Royal Ma- " jeſty of Great Britain, and a particular ſecuri- " ty to the Lords the States-General, of their " dominions, provinces, titles, navigation, and " commerce: and a ſufficient proviſion, that the " kingdoms of France and Spain be never united, " or come under the government of the ſame per- " ſon, or that the ſame man may never be king of " both kingdoms; and particularly, that the " French may never be in poſſeſſion of the Spa- " niſh Weſt-Indies; and that they may not have " the liberty of navigation, for conveniency of " trade, under any pretence whatſoever, neither " directly or indirectly; except it is agreed, that " the ſubjects of Great Britain and Holland " may have full power to uſe and enjoy all the " ſame privileges, rights, immunities, and liber- " ties of commerce, by land and ſea, in Spain, " in the Mediterranean, and in all the places " and countries which the late King of Spain, " at the time of his death, was in poſſeſſion of, " as well in Europe, as elſewhere, as they did " then uſe and enjoy; or which the ſubjects of " both, or each nation, could uſe and enjoy, by vir- " tue of any right, obtained before the death of " the ſaid King of Spain, either by treaties, conven- " tions, cuſtom, or any other way whatſoever."

Here, we ſee the demands, intended to be in-

ſiſted

ſiſted on by the allies, upon any treaty of peace, are, a juſt and reaſonable ſatisfaction for the Emperor and King of Great Britain, a ſecurity to the States-General for their dominions, &c. and a ſufficient proviſion, that France and Spain be never united under the ſame man, as King of both kingdoms. The reſt relates to the liberty of trade and commerce for us and the Dutch; but not a ſyllable of engaging to diſpoſſeſs the Duke of Anjou.

But to know how this new language, of *no peace without Spain*, was firſt introduced, and at laſt prevailed among us, we muſt begin a great deal higher.

It was the partition treaty, which begot the will in favour of the Duke of Anjou; for this naturally led the Spaniards to receive a prince ſupported by a great power, whoſe intereſt as well as affection engaged them to preſerve that monarchy entire, rather than to oppoſe him in favour of another family, who muſt expect aſſiſtance from a number of confederates, whoſe principal members had already diſpoſed of what did not belong to them, and, by a previous treaty, parcelled out the monarchy of Spain.

Thus, the Duke of Anjou got into the full poſſeſſion of all the kingdoms and ſtates belonging to that monarchy, as well in the old world as the new. And whatever the houſe of Auſtria pretended from their memorials to us and the States, it was at that time but too apparent, that the inclinations of the Spaniards were on the Duke's ſide.

However, a war was reſolved; and in order to carry

carry it on with great vigour, a grand alliance formed, wherein the ends, propoſed to be obtained, are plainly and diſtinctly laid down, as I have already quoted them. It pleaſed God, in the courſe of this war, to bleſs the arms of the allies with remarkable ſucceſſes; by which we were ſoon put into a condition of demanding and expecting ſuch terms of peace, as we propoſed to ourſelves when we began the war. But, inſtead of this, our victories only ſerved to lead us on to further viſionary proſpects; advantage was taken of the ſanguine temper, which ſo many ſucceſſes had wrought the nation up to; new romantic views were propoſed; and the old, reaſonable, ſober deſign was forgot.

This was the artifice of thoſe here, who were ſure to grow richer, as the public became poorer; and who, after the reſolutions which the two houſes were prevailed upon to make, might have carried on the war with ſafety to themſelves, till malt and land were mortgaged, till a general exciſe was eſtabliſhed, and the *dixieme denier* raiſed by *collectors in red coats*. And this was juſt the circumſtance, which it ſuited their intereſts to be in.

The houſe of Auſtria approved this ſcheme, with reaſon; ſince, whatever would be obtained by the blood and treaſure of others, was to accrue to that family; while they only lent their name to the cauſe.

The Dutch might perhaps have grown reſty under their burthen; but care was likewiſe taken of that, by a *barrier-treaty* made with the States, which

hich deſerveth ſuch epithets as I care not to be-
ow; but may perhaps conſider it, at a proper oc-
ſion, in a *Diſcourſe* by itſelf. *

By this treaty, the condition of the war, with
ſpect to the Dutch, was wiſely altered; they
ught no longer for ſecurity, but for grandeur;
d we, inſtead of labouring to make them *ſafe*,
uſt beggar ourſelves to make them *formidable*.

Will any one contend, that if, at the treaty of
ertruydenburgh, we could have been ſatisfied
ith ſuch terms of a peace as we propoſed to
urſelves by the grand alliance, the French would
ot have allowed them? It is plain they offered
any more, and much greater, than ever we
hought to inſiſt on when the war began; and
hey had reaſon to grant, as well as we to de-
and them; ſince conditions of peace do cer-
inly turn upon events of war. But, ſurely, there
ſome meaſure to be obſerved in this: thoſe,
ho have defended the proceedings of our nego-
ators at the treaty of Gertruydenburgh, dwell
ry much upon their zeal and patience in en-
avouring to work the French up to their de-
ands; but ſay nothing to juſtify thoſe demands,
the probability that France would ever accept
em. Some of the articles in that treaty were
very extravagant, that, in all human probabili-
, we could not have obtained them by a ſuc-
ſsful war of forty years. One of them was in-
nſiſtent with common reaſon; wherein the
nfederates reſerved to themſelves full liberty of
demanding

* Which Diſcourſe follows next in this volume.

demanding what further conditions they ſhould think fit; and in the mean time, France was to deliver up ſeveral of their ſtrongeſt towns in a month. Theſe articles were very gravely ſigned by our plenipotentiaries, and thoſe of Holland; but not by the French, although it ought to have been done interchangeably; nay, they were brought over by the ſecretary of the embaſſy; and the miniſters here, prevailed on the Queen to execute a ratification of articles, which only one part had ſigned. This was an abſurdity in form, as well as in reaſon; becauſe the uſual form of a ratification is with a preamble, ſhewing, *That whereas our miniſters, and thoſe of the allies, and of the enemy, have ſigned*, &c. *We ratify*, &c. The perſon * who brought over the articles, ſaid in all companies, (and perhaps believed) that it was a pity we had not demanded more; for the French were in a diſpoſition to refuſe us nothing we would aſk. One of our plenipotentiaries affected to have the ſame concern; and particularly, that we had not obtained ſome further ſecurity for the empire on the Upper Rhine.

What could be the deſign of all this grimace, but to amuſe the people, and to raiſe ſtocks for their friends in the ſecret to ſell to advantage? I have too great a reſpect for the abilities of thoſe, who acted in this negotiation, to believe they hoped for any other iſſue from it, than that we found by the event. Give me leave to ſuppoſe, the continuance of the war was the thing at heart among

* Horatio Walpole, Secretary to that embaſſy.

among thoſe in power, both abroad and at home; and then I can eaſily ſhew the conſiſtency of their proceedings, otherwiſe they are wholly unaccountable and abſurd. Did thoſe, who inſiſted on ſuch wild demands, ever ſincerely intend a peace? Did they really think, that going on with the war was more eligible for the country, than the leaſt abatement of thoſe conditions? Was the ſmalleſt of them worth ſix millions a year, and an hundred thouſand mens lives? Was there no way to provide for the ſafety of Britain, or the ſecurity of its trade, but by the French king's turning his arms to beat his own grandſon out of Spain? If theſe able ſtateſmen were ſo truly concerned for our trade, which they made the pretence of the war's beginning, as well as continuance; why did they ſo neglect it in thoſe very preliminaries, where the enemy made ſo many conceſſions, and where all that related to the advantage of Holland, or the other confederates, was expreſly ſettled? But whatever concerned us was to be left to a general treaty; no *tariff* agreed on with France or the Low-Countries; only the Scheld was to remain ſhut, which muſt have ruined our commerce with Antwerp. Our trade with Spain was referred the ſame way; but this, they will pretend to be of no conſequence, becauſe that kingdom was to be under the houſe of Auſtria, and we have already made a treaty with K. Charles. I have indeed heard of a treaty made by Mr. Stanhope with that prince, for ſettling our commerce with Spain: but whatever it were, there was another between

us and Holland, which went hand in hand with it, I mean that of *barrier*, wherein a clauſe was inſerted, by which all advantages propoſed for Britain, are to be in common with Holland.

Another point, which, I doubt, thoſe have not conſidered, who are againſt any peace without Spain, is, that the face of affairs in Chriſtendom, ſince the Emperor's death, hath been very much changed. By this accident, the views and intereſts of ſeveral princes and ſtates in the alliance, have taken a new turn; and I believe it will be found, that ours ought to do ſo too. We have ſufficiently blundered once already, by changing our meaſures, with regard to a peace, while our affairs continued in the ſame poſture; and it will be too much, in conſcience, to blunder again, by *not* changing the firſt, when the others are ſo much altered.

To have a prince of the Auſtrian family on the throne of Spain, is undoubtedly more deſireable than one of the houſe of Bourbon; but, to have the Empire and Spaniſh monarchy united in the ſame perſon, is a dreadful conſideration, and directly oppoſite to that wiſe principle on which the eighth article of the alliance is founded.

To this, perhaps, it will be objected, that the indolent character of the Auſtrian princes, the wretched œconomy of that government, the want of a naval force, the remote diſtance of their ſeveral territories from each other, would never ſuffer an emperor, although, at the ſame time, king of Spain, to become formidable; on the contrary, that his dependence muſt continually be

on

on Great Britain; and the advantages of trade, by a peace, founded upon that condition, would ſoon make us amends for all the expences of the war.

In anſwer to this, let us conſider the circumſtances we muſt be in, before ſuch a peace could be obtained, if it were at all practicable. We muſt become, not only poor for the preſent, but reduced, by further mortgages, to a ſtate of beggary, for endleſs years to come. Compare ſuch a weak condition as this with ſo great an acceſſion of ſtrength to Auſtria; and then determine how much an emperor, in ſuch a ſtate of affairs, would either fear or need Britain.

Conſider, that the compariſon is not formed between a prince of the houſe of Auſtria, Emperor and King of Spain, and with a prince of the Bourbon family, King of France and Spain; but between a prince of the latter, only king of Spain, and one of the former, uniting both crowns in his own perſon.

What returns of gratitude can we expect, when we are no longer wanted? Hath all that we have hitherto done for the Imperial family, been taken as a favour, or only received as the due of the *auguſtiſſima caſa?*

Will the houſe of Auſtria yield the leaſt acre of land, the leaſt article of ſtrained, and even uſurped prerogative, to ſettle the minds of thoſe princes in the alliance, who are alarmed at the conſequences of this turn of affairs, occaſioned by the Emperor's death? We are aſſured it never will. Do we then imagine, that thoſe princes, who dread the overgrown power of the Auſtrian,

the Imperial court? Will he not, th
the two evils, chuſe the leaſt; by ſubm
maſter who hath no immediate claim
and to whoſe family he is nearly alli
than to another, who hath already revi
claims upon him, and threatens to revi

Nor are the Dutch more inclined th
of Europe, that the Empire and Spain
united in King Charles, whatever they
pretend. *On the contrary, it is know
perſons, that, upon the death of the late E
ſeph, the States reſolved, that thoſe t
ſhould not be joined in the ſame perſon*
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which they intended to proceed. So
was firſt given up by *them;* and,
maintain no troops in that kingdom,
ſeem that they underſtand the Duke o
be lawful monarch.

Thirdly, Thoſe who are againſt

give way to others, who might argue very well upon the ſame ſubject, from general topics and reaſon, although they might be ignorant of ſeveral facts, which I had the opportunity to know. The ſecond was, becauſe I found it would be neceſſary, in the courſe of this argument, to ſay ſomething of the ſtate to which the war hath reduced us; at the ſame time I knew, that ſuch a diſcovery ought to be made as late as poſſible, and, at another juncture, would not only be very indiſcreet, but might, perhaps, be dangerous.

It is the folly of too many, to miſtake the echo of a London coffee-houſe, for the voice of the kingdom. The city coffee-houſes have been, for ſome years, filled with people whoſe fortunes depend upon the Bank, Eaſt-India, or ſome other ſtock. Every new fund to theſe, is like a new mortgage to an uſurer, whoſe compaſſion for a young heir, is exactly the ſame with that of a ſtock-jobber to the landed gentry. At the court end of the town, the like places of reſort are frequented, either by men out of place, and, conſequently, enemies to the preſent miniſtry, or by officers of the army: no wonder, then, if the general cry, in all ſuch meetings, be againſt any peace, either *with* Spain or *without*; which, in other words, is no more than this, That diſcontented men deſire another change of the miniſtry; that ſoldiers would be glad to keep their commiſſions; and that the creditors have money ſtill, and would have the debtors borrow on the old extorting rate, while they have any ſecurity to give.

Now, to give the moſt ignorant reader ſome

idea of our preſent circumſtances, without troubling him, or myſelf, with computations in form; every body knows, that our land and malt-tax amount annually to about two millions and an half. All other branches of the revenue are mortgaged, to pay intereſt for what we have already borrowed. The yearly charge of the war, is uſually about ſix millions; to make up which ſum, we are forced to take up, on the credit of new funds, about three millions and an half. This laſt year, the computed charge of the war, came to above a million more than all the funds the parliament could contrive, were ſufficient to pay intereſt for; and ſo we have been forced to divide a deficiency of twelve hundred thouſand pounds among the ſeveral branches of our expence. This is a demonſtration, that, if the war be to laſt another campaign, it will be impoſſible to find funds for ſupplying it, without mortgaging the malt-tax, or taking ſome other method, equally deſperate.

If the peace be made this winter, we are then to conſider, what circumſtances we ſhall be in, towards paying a debt of about fifty millions; which is a ſixth part of the purchaſe of the whole iſland, if it were to be ſold.

Towards clearing ourſelves of this monſtrous incumbrance, ſome of theſe annuities will expire, or pay off the principal, in thirty, forty, or an hundred years; the bulk of the debt muſt be leſſened gradually, by the beſt management we can, out of what will remain of the land and malt-taxes, after paying guards and garriſons, and

and maintaining and ſupplying our fleet in the time of peace. I have not ſkill enough to compute what will be left after theſe neceſſary charges, towards annually clearing ſo vaſt a debt; but believe it muſt be very little: however, it is plain, that both theſe taxes muſt be continued, as well for ſupporting the government, as becauſe we have no other means for paying off the principal. And ſo likewiſe muſt all the other funds remain for paying the intereſt. How long a time this muſt require, how ſteady an adminiſtration, and how undiſturbed a ſtate of affairs, both at home and abroad, let others determine.

However, ſome people think all this very reaſonable; and that, ſince the ſtruggle hath been for peace and ſafety, poſterity, which is to partake the benefit, ought to ſhare in the expence: as if, at the breaking out of this war, there had been ſuch a conjuncture of affairs as never happened before, nor would ever happen again. It is wonderful, that our anceſtors, in all their wars, ſhould never fall under ſuch a neceſſity; that we meet no examples of it in Greece and Rome; that no other nation in Europe ever knew any thing like it, except Spain, about an hundred and twenty years ago, when they drew it upon themſelves, by their own folly, and have ſuffered for it ever ſince: no doubt, we ſhall teach poſterity wiſdom; but they will be apt to think the purchaſe too dear; and I wiſh they may ſtand to the bargain we have made in their names.

It is eaſy to entail debts on ſucceeding ages, and to hope they will be able and willing to pay them;

them; but, how to enſure peace, for any term of years, is difficult enough to apprehend. Will human nature ever ceaſe to have the ſame paſſions, princes to entertain deſigns of intereſt or ambition, and occaſions of quarrel to ariſe? May not we ourſelves, by the variety of events and incidents which happen in the world, be under a neceſſity of recovering towns out of the very hands of thoſe for whom we are now ruining our country to take them? Neither can it be ſaid, that thoſe *ſtates*, with whom we may probably differ, will be in as bad a condition as ourſelves; for, by the circumſtances of our ſituation, and the impoſitions of our allies, we are more exhauſted than either they or the enemy; and, by the nature of our government, the corruption of our manners, and the oppoſition of factions, we ſhall be more ſlow in recovering.

It will, no doubt, be a mighty comfort to our grandchildren, when they ſee a few rags hung up in Weſtminſter-hall, which coſt an hundred millions, whereof they are paying the arrears, to boaſt, as beggars do, that their grandfathers were rich and great.

I have often reflected on that miſtaken notion of credit, ſo boaſted of by the advocates of the late miniſtry: Was not all that credit built upon funds raiſed by the landed men, whom they now ſo much hate and deſpiſe? Is not the greateſt part of thoſe funds raiſed from the growth and product of land? Muſt not the whole debt be entirely paid, and our fleets and garriſons be maintained, by the land and malt-tax, after a peace? If they call it credit, to run ten millions

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in debt, without parliamentary ſecurity, by which the public is defrauded of almoſt half; I muſt think ſuch credit to be dangerous, illegal, and, perhaps, treaſonable. Neither hath any thing gone further to ruin the nation, than their boaſted credit. For my own part, when I ſaw this falſe credit ſink, upon the change of the miniſtry, I was ſingular enough to conceive it a good omen. It ſeemed as if the young extravagant heir had got a new ſteward, and was reſolved to look into his eſtate, before things grow deſperate; which made the uſurers forbear feeding him with money, as they uſed to do.

Since the monied men are ſo fond of war, I ſhould be glad they would furniſh out one campaign at their own charge; it is not above ſix or ſeven millions; and I dare engage to make it out, that, when they have done this, inſtead of contributing equal to the landed men, they will have their full principal and intereſt at ſix *per cent.* remaining of all the money they ever lent to the government.

Without this reſource, or ſome other equally miraculous, it is impoſſible for us to continue the war upon the ſame foot. I have already obſerved, that the laſt funds of intereſt fell ſhort above a million, although the perſons moſt converſant in ways and means, employed their utmoſt invention; ſo that, of neceſſity, we muſt be ſtill more defective next campaign. But, perhaps, our allies will make up this deficiency on our ſide, by greater efforts on their own. Quite the contrary; both the Emperor and Holland failed,

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this year, in ſeveral articles; and ſignified to us, ſome time ago, that they cannot keep up to the ſame proportions in the next. We have gained a noble barrier for the latter, and they have nothing more to demand or deſire. The Emperor, however ſanguine he may now affect to appear, will, I ſuppoſe, be ſatisfied with Naples, Sicily, Milan, and his other acquiſitions, rather than engage in a long hopeleſs war, for the recovery of Spain, to which his allies, the Dutch, will neither give their aſſiſtance nor conſent. So that, ſince we have done their buſineſs, ſince they have no further ſervice for our arms, and we have no more money to give them; and, laſtly, ſince we neither deſire any recompenſe, nor expect any thanks, we ought, in pity, to be diſmiſſed, and have leave to ſhift for ourſelves. They are ripe for a peace, to enjoy and cultivate what we have conquered for them; and ſo are we, to recover, if poſſible, the effects of their hardſhips upon us. The firſt overtures from France, are made to England upon ſafe and honourable terms; we, who bore the burthen of the war, ought, in reaſon, to have the greateſt ſhare in making the peace. If we do not hearken to a peace, others certainly will, and get the advantage of us there, as they have done in the war. We know the Dutch have perpetually threatened us, that they would enter into ſeparate meaſures of a peace; and, by the ſtrength of that argument, as well as by *other powerful motives*, prevailed on thoſe who were then at the helm, to comply with them on any terms, rather than put an end to the war, which, every year, brought

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if princes and great miniſters could find no way of ſettling the public tranquillity, without changing the poſſeſſions of kingdoms, and forcing ſovereigns upon a people againſt their inclinations. Is there no ſecurity for the iſland of Britain, unleſs a king of Spain be dethroned by the hands of his grandfather? Has the enemy no cautionary towns and ſea-ports to give us for ſecuring trade? Can he not deliver us poſſeſſion of ſuch places as would put him in a worſe condition, whenever he ſhould perfidiouſly renew the war? The preſent king of France has but few years to live, by the courſe of nature, and, doubtleſs, would deſire to end his days in peace. Grandfathers in private families, are not obſerved to have great influence on their grandſons; and, I believe, they have much leſs among princes; however, when the authority of a parent is gone, is it likely, that Philip will be directed by a brother, againſt his own intereſt, and that of his ſubjects? Have not thoſe two realms their ſeparate maxims of policy, which muſt operate in times of peace? Theſe, at leaſt, are probabilities, and cheaper by ſix millions a year, than recovering Spain, or continuing the war, both which ſeem abſolutely impoſſible.

But the common queſtion is, if we muſt now ſurrender Spain, what have we been fighting for all this while? The anſwer is ready; we have been fighting for the ruin of the public intereſt, and the advancement of a private: we have been fighting to raiſe the wealth and grandeur of a particular family, to enrich uſurers and ſtock-jobbers, and to cultivate the pernicious deſigns of

a faction,

faction, by deſtroying the landed intereſt. The ation begins now to think, theſe *bleſſings* are not orth fighting for any longer, and therefore deres a peace.

But the advocates on the other ſide cry out, iat we might have had a better peace, than is ow in agitation, above two years ago. Supoſing this to be true, I do aſſert, that, by parity f reaſon, we muſt expect one juſt ſo much ie worſe, about two years hence. If thoſe in ower could then have given us a better peace, ore is their infamy and guilt, that they did it ot. Why did they inſiſt upon conditions, which ey were certain would never be granted? We low, it was in their power to have put a good id to the war, and left the nation in ſome hope recovering itſelf. And this is what we charge em with, as anſwerable to God, their country, id poſterity; that the bleeding condition of their llow-ſubjects, was a feather in the balance with eir private ends.

When we offer to lament the heavy debts and overty of the nation, it is pleaſant to hear ſome en anſwer all that can be ſaid, by crying up the ower of England, the courage of England, the exhauſtible riches of England. I have heard a an * very ſanguine upon this ſubject, with a od employment for life, and a hundred thound pounds in the funds, bidding us *take courge*, and *warranting, that all would go well.* This the ſtyle of men at eaſe, *who lay heavy burthens on others, which they would not touch with one of*

* *The late* Lord Halifax.

their fingers. I have known ſome people ſuch ill computers, as to imagine the many millions in ſtocks and annuities, are ſo much real wealth in the nation; whereas, every farthing of it is entirely loſt to us, ſcattered in Holland, Germany, and Spain; and the landed men, who now pay the intereſt, muſt at laſt pay the principal.

Fourthly, Thoſe, who are againſt any peace without Spain, have, I doubt, been ill informed as to the low condition of France, and the mighty conſequences of our ſucceſſes. As to the firſt, it muſt be confeſſed, that after the battle of Ramillies, the French were ſo diſcouraged with their frequent loſſes, and ſo impatient for a peace, that their king was reſolved to comply upon any reaſonable terms. But, when his ſubjects were informed of our exorbitant demands, they grew jealous of his honour, and were unanimous to aſſiſt him, in continuing the war at any hazard, rather than ſubmit. This fully reſtored his authority; and the ſupplies he hath received from the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, which in all are computed, ſince the war, to amount to four hundred millions of livres, and all in *ſpecie*, have enabled him to pay his troops. Beſides, the money is ſpent in his own country; and he hath ſince waged war in the moſt thrifty manner, by acting on the defenſive; compounding with us every campaign for a town, which coſts us fifty times more than its worth, either as to its value, or the conſequences. Then he is at no charge for a fleet, further than providing privateers, wherewith his ſubjects carry on a pyratical war at their own expence,

pence, and he ſhares in the profit; which hath been very conſiderable to France, and of infinite diſadvantage to us, not only by the perpetual loſſes we have ſuffered, to an immenſe value, but by the general diſcouragement to trade, on which we ſo much depend. All this conſidered, with the circumſtances of that government, where the prince is maſter of the lives and fortunes of ſo mighty a kingdom, ſhews that monarch not to be ſo ſunk in his affairs as we have imagined, and have long flattered ourſelves with the hopes of.

Thoſe who are againſt *any peace without Spain*, ſeem likewiſe to have been miſtaken, in judging our victories, and other ſucceſſes, to have been of greater conſequence than they really were.

When our armies take a town in Flanders, the Dutch are immediately put into *poſſeſſion*, and we at home make *bonefires*. I have ſometimes pitied the deluded people, to ſee them ſquandering away their fuel to ſo little purpoſe. For example: what is it to us that Bouchain is taken, about which the warlike politicians of the coffee-houſe make ſuch a clutter? What though the garriſon ſurrendered priſoners of war, and in ſight of the enemy? We are not now in a condition to be fed with points of honour. What advantage have we, but that of ſpending three or four millions more, to get another town for the States, which may open them a new country for *contributions*, and encreaſe the perquiſites of the General?

In that war of ten years, under the late king, when our commanders and ſoldiers were raw and

unexperienced, in compariſon with what they are at preſent, we loſt battles and towns, as well as we gained them of late, ſince thoſe gentlemen have better learned their trade; yet we bore up then, as the French do now: nor was there any thing deciſive in their ſucceſſes; they grew weary as well as we, and at laſt conſented to a peace, under which we might have been happy enough, if it had not been followed by that wiſe *treaty of partition*, which revived the flame that hath laſted ever ſince. I ſee nothing elſe in the modern way of making war, but that the ſide, which can hold out longeſt, will end it with moſt advantage. In ſuch a cloſe country as Flanders, where it is carried on by ſieges, the army that acts offenſively, is at a much greater expence of men and money; and there is hardly a town taken in the common forms, where the beſiegers have not the worſe of the bargain. I never yet knew a ſoldier, who would not affirm, that any town might be taken, if you were content to be at the charge. If you will count upon ſacrificing ſo much blood and treaſure, the reſt is all a regular, eſtabliſhed method, which cannot fail. When the king of France, in the times of his grandeur, ſat down before a town, his generals and engineers would often fix the day when it ſhould ſurrender: the enemy, ſenſible of all this, hath, for ſome years paſt, avoided a battle, where he hath ſo ill ſucceeded, and taken a ſurer way to conſume us, by letting our courage evaporate againſt ſtones and rubbiſh, and ſacrificing a ſingle town to a campaign,

paign, which he can ſo much better afford to loſe, than we to take.

Laſtly, Thoſe who are ſo violently againſt *any peace*, without Spain being reſtored to the houſe of Auſtria, have not, I believe, caſt their eye upon a cloud gathering in the north, which we have helped to raiſe, and may quickly break in a ſtorm upon our heads.

The northern war hath been on foot almoſt ever ſince our breach with France. The ſucceſs of it is various; but one effect to be apprehended was always the ſame, that ſooner or latter, it would involve us in its conſequences; and that, whenever this happened, let our ſucceſs be never ſo great againſt France, from that moment France would have the advantage.

By our guarantee of the treaty of Travendall, we were obliged to hinder the king of Denmark from engaging in a war with Sweden. It was at that time underſtood by all parties, and ſo declared, even by the Britiſh miniſters, that this engagement ſpecially regarded Denmark's not aſſiſting king Auguſtus. But, however, if this had not been ſo, yet our obligation to Sweden ſtood in force, by virtue of former treaties with that crown, which were all revived and confirmed by a ſubſequent one, concluded at the Hague, by Sir Joſeph Williamſon, and Monſieur Lilienroot, about the latter end of the King's reign.

However, the war in the north proceeded; and our not aſſiſting Sweden, was at leaſt as well excuſed by the war which we were entangled in,

as his not contributing his contingent to the empire, whereof he is a member, was excuſed by the preſſures he lay under, having a confederacy to deal with.

In this war, the king of Sweden was victorious; and what dangers were we not then expoſed to? what fears were we not in? He marched into Saxony, and if he had really been in the French intereſt, might at once have put us under the greateſt difficulties. But the torrent turned another way; and he contented himſelf with impoſing on his enemy the treaty of Alt Raſtadt; by which K. Auguſtus makes an abſolute ceſſion of the crown of Poland, renounces any title to it, acknowledges Staniſlaus; and then, both he and the king of Sweden, join in deſiring the guarantee of England and Holland. The Queen did not indeed give this guarantee in form; but, as a ſtep towards it, the title of *King* was given to Staniſlaus, by a letter from her Majeſty; and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances were given to the Swediſh miniſter, in her Majeſty's name, and a committee of council, that the guarantee ſhould ſpeedily be granted; and that, in the mean while, it was the ſame thing as if the forms were paſſed.

In 1708, K. Auguſtus made the campaign in Flanders: what meaſures he might at that time take, or of what nature the arguments might be, that he made uſe of, is not known: but, immediately after, he breaks through all that he had done, marches into Poland, and reaſſumes the crown.

After this, we apprehended, that the peace of the

the empire might be endangered; and therefore, entered into an act of guarantee, for the neutrality of it. The king of Sweden refuſed, upon ſeveral accounts, to ſubmit to the terms of this treaty; particularly, becauſe we went out of the empire, to cover Poland and Jutland, but did not go out of it to cover the territories of Sweden.

Let us therefore conſider, what is our caſe at preſent. If the king of Sweden return, and get the better, he will think himſelf under no obligation of having any regard to the intereſts of the allies; but will naturally purſue, according to his own expreſſion, *his enemy wherever he finds him*. In this caſe, the *corps* of the neutrality is obliged to oppoſe him; and ſo we are engaged in a ſecond war, before the firſt be ended.

If the northern confederates ſucceed againſt Sweden, how ſhall we be able to preſerve the balance of power in the north, ſo eſſential to our trade, as well as in many other reſpects? What will become of that great ſupport of the *proteſtant intereſt* in Germany, which is the footing that the Swedes now have in the empire? Or, who ſhall anſwer, that theſe princes, after they have ſettled the north to their minds, may not take a fancy to look ſouthward, and make our peace with France according to their own ſchemes?

And laſtly, if the King of Pruſſia, the Elector of Hanover, and other princes, whoſe dominions ly contiguous, be forced to draw from thoſe armies which act againſt France, we muſt live in hourly expectation of having thoſe troops recalled, which

which they now leave with us; and this recal may happen in the midſt of a ſiege, or on the eve of a battle. Is it therefore our intereſt, to toil on in a ruinous war, for an impracticable end, till one of theſe caſes ſhall happen, or to get under ſhelter before the ſtorm?

There is no doubt but the preſent miniſtry (provided they could get over the obligations of honour and conſcience) might find their advantage in adviſing the continuance of the war, as well as the laſt did, although not in the ſame degree, after the kingdom hath been ſo much exhauſted. They might prolong it, till the parliament deſire a peace; and, in the mean time, leave them in full poſſeſſion of power. Therefore, it is plain, that their proceedings at preſent, are meant to ſerve their country directly againſt their private intereſt; whatever clamour may be raiſed by thoſe, who, for the vileſt ends, would remove heaven and earth to oppoſe their meaſures. But they think it infinitely better, to accept ſuch terms as will ſecure our trade, find a ſufficient barrier for the States, give *reaſonable ſatisfaction* to the Emperor, and reſtore the tranquillity of Europe, although without adding Spain to the empire; rather than go on in a languiſhing way, upon the vain expectation of ſome improbable turn, for the recovery of that monarchy out of the Bourbon family; and at laſt be forced to a worſe peace, by ſome of the allies falling off, upon our utter inability to continue the war.

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SOME

REMARKS on the BARRIER-TREATY between her Majesty and the States-General.

To which are added, The said BARRIER-TREATY, with the two separate articles; Part of the counter-project: The sentiments of Prince Eugene and Count Sinzendorf upon the said treaty; and, A representation of the English merchants at Bruges.

Written in the year 1712.

PREFACE.

WHEN I published the discourse, called, *The conduct of the Allies*, I had thoughts, either of inserting, or annexing, the Barrier-treaty at length, with such observations as I conceived might be useful for public information: but that discourse taking up more room than I designed, after my utmost endeavours to abbreviate it, I contented myself only with making some few reflections upon that *famous treaty*, sufficient, as I thought, to answer the design of my book. I have since heard, that my readers in general seemed to wish I had been more particular, and have discovered an impatience to have that treaty made public, especially since it hath been laid before the *House of Commons*.

That

That I may give ſome light to the reader, who is not well verſed in thoſe affairs, he may pleaſe to know, that a project for a treaty of Barrier with the States, was tranſmitted hither from Holland; but, being diſapproved of by our court in ſeveral parts, a new project or ſcheme of a treaty was drawn up here, with many additions and alterations. This laſt was called the *counter-project*; and was the meaſure, whereby the Duke of Marlborough and my Lord Townſhend were commanded and inſtructed to proceed in negociating a *treaty of barrier* with the States.

I have added a tranſlation of this *counter-project*, in thoſe articles where it differs from the *barrier-treaty*, that the reader, by comparing them together, may judge how punctually thoſe negociators obſerved their inſtructions. I have likewiſe ſubjoined the ſentiments of Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Count de Sinzendorf, relating to this treaty, written, I ſuppoſe, while it was negociating. And laſtly, I have added a copy of the repreſentation of the Britiſh merchants at Bruges, ſignifying what inconveniencies they already felt, and further apprehended from this *barrier-treaty*.

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REMARKS on the BARRIER-TREATY, &c.*

IMAGINE a reaſonable perſon in China reading the following treaty, and one who was ignorant of our affairs, or our geography: he would conceive their High Mightineſſes, the States-General, to be ſome vaſt powerful commonwealth, like that of Rome; and HER MAJESTY to be a prety

* Dr. Swift commenced the champion of Q. Anne's Tory miniſtry, as early as the month of November 1710, under the title of *The Examiner*, [Vol. III.] Beſides which, he wrote ſeveral other papers, in defence of the Queen, the conſtitution, and the miniſtry; particularly, *Some advice to the members of the October club* [Ibid.] *The conduct of the allies*, (above, p. 344) *Remarks on the barrier-treaty; The public ſpirit of the Whigs* (above, p. 286) (a treatiſe wherein we may obſerve how well the Doctor was acquainted with the ſeveral intereſts and deſigns of all the princes in Europe;) *The preface to the Biſhop of Sarum's introduction*, (Vol. X.) and, *Some free thoughts on the preſent ſtate of affairs* (Vol. VI.) Theſe are a courſe of writings not to be conſidered in the light of *occaſional pamphlets*, or little paltry *journals*, thrown into the world by ſome *hackney-jade*, in the defence of *corruption*, and to ſerve the iniquitous deſigns of a party. No; theſe writings are to be conſidered, and read over and over again, as lectures of true, unprejudiced, conſtitutional politics, calculated to expoſe the enemies of the public, and to maintain, at once, the honour of the crown, and the liberties of the people of England. I cannot but think, whoever is totally unacquainted with theſe political tracts, might be tempted to reviſe them carefully, were it only for the ſake of extracting ſome points of hiſtory, which, to many thouſands of the preſent age, are ſomewhat more than paradoxes.——Whoever pretends to write the hiſtory of Q. Anne's reign, without reviſing diligently the works of

prety prince, like one of thoſe to whom that republic would ſometimes ſend a diadem for a preſent, when they behaved themſelves well, otherwiſe could depoſe at pleaſure, and place whom they thought fit in his ſtead. Such a man would think, that the States had taken our prince and us into their *protection*; and, in return, honoured us ſo far, as to make uſe of our troops, as ſome ſmall aſſiſtance in their conqueſts, and the enlargement of their empire, or to prevent the incurſions of Barbarians upon ſome of their out-lying provinces. But how muſt it ſound in an European ear, that Great-Britain, after maintaining a war for ſo many years, with ſo much glory and ſucceſs, and ſuch prodigious expence; after ſaving the Empire, Holland, and Portugal, and almoſt recovering Spain, ſhould, towards the cloſe

of this great author, will produce nothing better than ſome lame, partial, inſignificant Grub-ſtreet performance, like the reſt of thoſe vile accounts, which have already, in defiance of truth, been impoſed upon the world. I am ſure, the preſent generation of men, that is, the preſent generation of *landed men*, who are, in fact, the only proprietors of the whole kingdom, feel it to their coſt, that Swift's reaſonings are juſt, and that all his accounts are true. *Swift.*——Mr. Swift thinks the Dean's political tracts ſhould have been ranged in his works, in the order in which he has mentioned them, and that his ſeveral poems, relative to thoſe times, and which, in truth, greatly illuſtrate his political tracts, ought to be read in the following order, viz. *The virtues of Sid Hamet the magician's rod*, (Vol. VIII.) *The fable of Midas* (Ibid.) *Atlas*, or, *The miniſter of ſtate* (Ibid.) *Horace, epiſt.* vii. *book* 1. *imitated, and addreſſed to the Earl of Oxford* (Ibid.) *Horace, ſat.* vii. *book* 2. *part of it imitated* (Ibid.) *The author on himſelf* (Ibid.) *The faggot* (Ibid.) *To the Earl of Oxford in the Tower* (Ibid.)

cloſe of a war, enter into a treaty with ſeven Dutch provinces, to ſecure to them a dominion much larger than their own, which ſhe had conquered for them; to undertake for a great deal more, without ſtipulating the leaſt advantage for herſelf; and accept, as an equivalent, the mean condition, of thoſe States aſſiſting to preſerve her Queen on the throne, whom, by God's aſſiſtance, ſhe is able to defend againſt all her Majeſty's *enemies* and *allies* put together?

Such a wild bargain could never have been made for us, if the States had not found it their intereſt, to uſe very powerful motives with the chief adviſers, (I ſay nothing of the perſon immediately employed;) and if a party here at home had not been reſolved, for ends and purpoſes very well known, to continue the war as long as they had any occaſion for it.

The *counter-project* of this treaty, made here at London, was bad enough in all conſcience: I have ſaid ſomething of it in the *preface*; her Majeſty's miniſters were inſtructed to proceed by it in their negotiation. There was one point in that project, which would have been of conſequence to Britain, and one or two more, where the advantages of the States were not ſo very exorbitant, and where ſome care was taken of the houſe of Auſtria. Is it poſſible, that *our good allies and friends* could not be brought to any terms with us, unleſs by ſtriking out every particular that might do us any good, and adding ſtill more to thoſe whereby ſo much was already granted?

For inſtance, the article about demoliſhing of Dunkirk, ſurely, might have remained; which was of ſome benefit to the States, as well as of mighty advantage to us; and which the French king hath lately yielded, in one of his preliminaries, although clogged with the demand of an equivalent, which will owe its difficulty only to this treaty.

But, let me now conſider the treaty itſelf: among the one and twenty articles, of which it conſiſts, only two have any relation to us; importing, that the Dutch are to be guarantees of our ſucceſſion, and are not to enter into any treaty, until the Queen is acknowledged by France. We know very well, that it is, in conſequence, the intereſt of the States, as much as ours, that Britain ſhould be governed by a *Proteſtant* prince. Beſides, what is there more in this guarantee, than in all common leagues, offenſive and defenſive, between two powers, where each is obliged to defend the other againſt any invader, with all their ſtrength? Such was the grand alliance between the Emperor, Britain and Holland; which was, or ought to have been, as good a guarantee of our ſucceſſion, to all intents and purpoſes, as this in the *barrier-treaty*; and the mutual engagements in ſuch alliances have been always reckoned ſufficient, without any ſeparate benefit to either party.

It is, no doubt, for the intereſt of Britain, that the States ſhould have a ſufficient barrier againſt France; but their High Mightineſſes, for ſome few years paſt, have put a different meaning upon the word *barrier*, from what it formerly

formerly uſed to bear, when aplied to them. When the late king was prince of Orange, and commanded their armies againſt France, it was never once imagined, that any of the towns taken ſhould belong to the Dutch; they were all immediately delivered up to their lawful monarch; and Flanders was only a *barrier* to Holland, as it was in the hands of Spain, rather than France. So, in the grand alliance of 1701, the ſeveral powers, promiſing to endeavour to recover Flanders for a barrier, was underſtood to be the recovering thoſe provinces to the king of Spain; but, in this treaty, the ſtyle is wholly changed: here are about twenty towns and forts, of great importance, with their chatellanies and dependencies (which dependencies are likewiſe to be enlarged as much as poſſible), and the whole revenues of them to be under the perpetual military government of the Dutch; by which that republic will be entirely maſters of the richeſt part of all Flanders; and, upon any appearance of war, they may put their garriſons into any other place of the Low-Countries; and further, the king of Spain is to give them a revenue of four hundred thouſand crowns a year, to enable them to maintain thoſe garriſons.

Why ſhould we wonder, that the Dutch are inclined to perpetuate the war, when, by an article in this treaty, the king of Spain is *not to poſſeſs one ſingle town in the Low-Countries, until a peace be made.* The Duke of Anjou, at the beginning of this war, maintained ſix and thirty thouſand men

out of thoſe Spaniſh provinces he then poſſeſſed: to which, if we add the many towns ſince taken, which were not in the late king of Spain's poſſeſſion at the time of his death, with all their territories and dependencies; it is viſible, what forces the States may be able to keep, even without any charge to their peculiar dominions.

The towns and chatellanies of this barrier, always maintained their garriſons, when they were in the hands of France; and, as it is reported, returned a conſiderable ſum of money into the king's coffers; yet the king of Spain is obliged, by this treaty (as we have already obſerved), to add over and above, a revenue of four hundred thouſand crowns a year. We know likewiſe, that a great part of the revenue of the Spaniſh Netherlands is already pawned to the States; ſo that, after a peace, nothing will be left to the ſovereign, nor will the people be much eaſed of the taxes they at preſent labour under.

Thus the States, by virtue of this *barrier-treaty*, will, in effect, be abſolute ſovereigns of all Flanders, and of the whole revenues, in the utmoſt extent.

And here I cannot, without ſome contempt, take notice of a ſort of reaſoning, offered by ſeveral people; that the many towns we have taken for the Dutch are of no advantage, becauſe the whole revenues of thoſe towns are ſpent in maintaining them. For, firſt, the fact is manifeſtly falſe, particularly as to Liſle, and ſome others. Secondly, the States, after a peace, are to have four hundred

dred thouſand crowns a year out of the remainder of Flanders, which is then to be left to Spain. And laſtly, ſuppoſe all theſe acquired dominions will not bring a penny into their treaſury, what can be of greater conſequence, than to be able to maintain a mighty army out of their new conqueſts, which, before, they always did, by taxing their natural ſubjects?

How ſhall we be able to anſwer it to King Charles III. that, while we pretend to endeavour reſtoring him to the entire monarchy of Spain, we join, at the ſame time, with the Dutch, to deprive him of his natural right to the Low-Countries?

But ſuppoſe, by a Dutch barrier, muſt now be underſtood, only what is to be in poſſeſſion of the States; yet, even under this acceptation of the word, nothing was originally meant, except a *barrier* againſt France; whereas, ſeveral towns, demanded by the Dutch in this treaty, can be of no uſe at all in ſuch a *barrier*. And this is the ſentiment, even of prince Eugene himſelf (the preſent oracle and idol of the party here), who ſays, "that Dendermond, Oſtend, and the caſtle "of Gand, do in no ſort belong to the barrier; "nor can be of other uſe, than to make the "States-General maſters of the Low-Countries, "and hinder their trade with England." And further: "That thoſe who are acquainted with the "country know very well, that, to *fortify* Lier "and Halle, can give no ſecurity to the States, "as a barrier, but only raiſe a jealouſy in the

" people, that thoſe places are only fortified, in " order to block up Bruſſels, and the other great " towns of Brabant."

In thoſe towns of Flanders, where the Dutch are to have garriſons, but the eccleſiaſtical and civil power to remain to the king of Spain after a peace, the States have power to ſend arms, ammunition, and victuals, without paying cuſtoms; under which pretence, they will engroſs the whole trade of thoſe towns, excluſive of all other nations.

This prince Eugene likewiſe foreſaw; and, in his obſervations upon this treaty, here annexed, propoſed a remedy for it.

And, if the Dutch ſhall pleaſe to think, that the whole Spaniſh Netherlands are not a ſufficient *barrier* for them, I know no remedy, from the words of this treaty, but that we muſt ſtill go on and conquer for them as long as they pleaſe. For the Queen is obliged, whenever a peace is treated, to procure for them *whatever ſhall be thought neceſſary* beſides; and where their neceſſity will terminate, is not very eaſy to foreſee.

Could any of her Majeſty's ſubjects conceive, that, in thoſe very towns we have taken for the Dutch, and given into their poſſeſſion as a *barrier*, either the States ſhould demand, or our *miniſters* allow, that the ſubjects of Britain ſhould, in reſpect to their trade, be uſed worſe than they were under the late king of Spain? yet this is the fact, as monſtrous as it appears: all goods going to, or coming from Newport to Oſtend, are to pay the ſame duties, as thoſe that paſs by the Scheld under

der the Dutch forts: and this, in effect, is to shut out all other nations from trading to Flanders. The English merchants at Bruges complain, that "after they had paid the king of Spain's duty for "goods imported at Ostend, the same goods are "made liable to further duties, when they are "carried from thence into the towns of the Dutch "new conquests; *and desire only* the same privi- "leges of trade they had before the death of the "late king of Spain, Charles II." And, in consequence of this treaty, the Dutch have already taken off eight *per cent.* from all goods they send to the Spanish Flanders, but left it still upon us.

But, what is very surprising, in the very same article, where *our good friends and allies* are wholly shutting us out from trading in those towns we have conquered for them with so much blood and treasure, the Queen is obliged to procure, that the States shall be used as favourably in their trade over all the king of Spain's dominions, as her own subjects, or *as the people most favoured.* This I humbly conceive to be perfect boys play; *Cross I win*, and *pile you lose*; * or, *What's yours is mine, and what's mine is my own.* Now, if it should happen, that, in a treaty of peace, some ports or towns should be yielded us, for the security of our trade, in any part of the Spanish dominions, at how great a distance soever, I suppose the Dutch would go on with their *boys* play, and *challenge half*, by virtue of that article: or, would they be content

* The two sides of our coin were once distinguished by *cross* and *pile*, as they are now by *heads* and *tails*. *Hawkes.*

content with the military government and the revenues, and reckon them among *what ſhall be thought neceſſary* for their barrier?

This prodigious article is introduced, as ſubſequent to the treaty of Munſter, made about the year 1648, at a time when England was in the utmoſt confuſion, and very much to our diſadvantage. Thoſe parts in that treaty, ſo unjuſt in themſelves, and ſo prejudicial to our trade, ought, in reaſon, to have been remitted, rather than confirmed upon us, for the time to come. But this is Dutch partnerſhip; to ſhare in all our *beneficial bargains*, and exclude us wholly from theirs, even from thoſe which we have got for them.

In one part of *The conduct of the allies*, &c. among other remarks upon this treaty, I make it a queſtion, whether it were right, in point of policy or prudence, to call in a foreign power to be a guarantee to our ſucceſſion; becauſe, by that means, *we put it out of the power of our legiſlature to alter the ſucceſſion, how much ſoever the neceſſity of the kingdom may require it?* † To comply with the cautions of ſome people, I explained *my meaning in the following editions*. I was aſſured, that my Lord Chief Juſtice affirmed, that paſſage was treaſon. One of my anſwerers, I think, decides as favourably; and, I am told, that paragraph was read very lately, during a debate, with a comment in very injurious terms, which perhaps might have been ſpared. That the legiſlature ſhould have power to change the ſucceſſion, whenever the neceſſities

† Page 377.

ceſſities of the kingdom require, is ſo very uſeful, towards preſerving our religion and liberty, that I know not how to recant. The worſt of this opinion is, that, at firſt ſight, it appears to be *whiggiſh*; but the diſtinction is thus: the *whigs* are for changing the ſucceſſion when they think fit, although the entire legiſlature do not conſent; I think it ought never to be done, but upon great neceſſity, and that with the ſanction of the whole legiſlature. Do theſe gentlemen of revolution principles think it impoſſible, that we ſhould ever have occaſion again to change our ſucceſſion? And, if ſuch an accident ſhould fall out, muſt we have no remedy, until the ſeven provinces will give their conſent? Suppoſe that this virulent party among us were as able, as ſome are willing, to raiſe a rebellion, for reinſtating them in power, and would apply themſelves to the Dutch, as guarantees of our ſucceſſion, to aſſiſt them with all their force, under pretence that the Queen and miniſtry, a great majority of both houſes, and the bulk of the people, were for bringing over France, Popery, and the Pretender: their High Mightineſſes would, as I take it, be ſole judges of the controverſy, and probably decide it ſo well, that, in ſome time, we might have the happineſs of becoming a province to Holland. I am humbly of opinion, that there are two qualities neceſſary to a reader, before his judgment ſhould be allowed; theſe are, common honeſty, and common ſenſe; and that no man could have miſrepreſented that paragraph in my diſcourſe,

diſcourſe, unleſs he were utterly deſtitute of one or both.

The preſumptive ſucceſſor, and her immediate heirs, have ſo eſtabliſhed a reputation in the world, for their piety, wiſdom, and humanity, that no neceſſity of this kind is like to appear in their days; but I muſt ſtill inſiſt, that it is a diminution to the independency of the imperial crown of Great-Britain, to call at every door for help to put our laws in execution. And we ought to conſider, that if, in ages to come, ſuch a prince ſhould happen to be in ſucceſſion to our throne, who ſhould be entirely unable to govern; that very motive might incline our guarantees to ſupport him, the more effectually to bring the rivals of their trade into confuſion and diſorder.

But to return: the Queen is here put under the unreaſonable obligation, of being guarantee of the whole barrier-treaty; of the Dutch having poſſeſſion of the ſaid barrier, and the revenues thereof, before a peace; of the payment of four hundred thouſand crowns by the king of Spain; that the States ſhall poſſeſs their barrier, even before King Charles is in poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Netherlands; although, by the fifth article of the grand alliance, her Majeſty is under no obligation to do any thing of this nature, except in a general treaty.

All kings, princes, and ſtates, are invited to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution. This article, though very frequent in treaties, ſeems to look very oddly in that of the barrier.

barrier. Popiſh princes are here invited, among others, to become guarantees of our proteſtant ſucceſſion; every petty prince in Germany muſt be intreated to preſerve the Queen of Great-Britain upon her throne. The king of Spain is invited particularly, and by name, to become guarantee of the execution of a treaty, by which his allies, who pretend to fight his battles, and recover his dominions, ſtrip him, in effect, of all his ten provinces; a clear reaſon why they never ſent any forces to Spain, and why the obligation, not to enter into a treaty of peace with France, until that entire monarchy was yielded as a preliminary, was ſtruck out of the counter-project by the Dutch. They fought only in Flanders, becauſe there they only fought for themſelves. K. Charles muſt needs accept this invitation very kindly, and ſtand by with great ſatisfaction, while the Belgick lion divides the prey, and aſſigns it all to himſelf. I remember there was a parcel of ſoldiers, who robbed a farmer of his poultry, and then made him wait at table, while they devoured his victuals, without giving him a morſel; and, upon his expoſtulating, had only for anſwer, Why, ſirrah, are we not come here to protect you? And thus much for this generous invitation to all kings and princes, to lend their aſſiſtance, and become guarantees, out of pure good nature, for ſecuring Flanders to the Dutch.

In the treaty of Ryſwick, no care was taken, to oblige the French king to acknowledge the right of ſucceſſion in her preſent Majeſty; for want of which

which point being then ſettled, France refuſed to acknowledge her for Queen of Great-Britain, after the late King's death. This unaccountable neglect (if it were a neglect) is here called an omiſſion, and care is taken to ſupply it in the next general treaty of peace ‖. I mention this occaſionally, becauſe I have ſome ſtubborn doubts within me, whether it were a wilful omiſſion, or no. Neither do I herein reflect in the leaſt upon the memory of his late Majeſty, whom I entirely acquit of any imputation upon this matter. But, when I recollect the behaviour, the language, and the principles of ſome certain perſons in thoſe days, and compare them with that omiſſion; I am tempted to draw ſome concluſions, which a certain party would be more ready to call falſe and malicious, than to prove them ſo.

I muſt here take leave (becauſe it will not otherwiſe fall in my way) to ſay a few words, in return to a gentleman, I know not of what character or calling, who hath done me the honour to write three diſcourſes againſt that treatiſe of *The conduct of the allies*, &c. and promiſes, for my comfort, to conclude all in a fourth. I pity anſwerers with all my heart, for the many diſadvantages they lie under. My book did a world of miſchief (as he calls it) before his firſt part could poſſibly come out; and ſo went on through the kingdom, while his limped ſlowly after; and, if it arrived at all, it was too late; for people's opinions were already fixed. His manner of anſwering

‖ Article XX.

ing me, is thus: of thoſe facts which he pretends to examine, ſome he reſolutely denies, others he endeavours to extenuate, and the reſt he diſtorts with ſuch unnatural turns, that I would engage, by the ſame method, to diſprove any hiſtory, either ancient or modern. Then the whole is interlarded with a thouſand injurious epithets and apellations, which heavy writers are forced to make uſe of, as a ſupply for that want of ſpirit and genius they are not born to: yet, after all, he allows a very great point, for which I contend; confeſſing, in plain words, that the burthen of the war hath chiefly lain upon us; and thinks it ſufficient for the Dutch, that, next to England, they have borne the greateſt ſhare. And is not this the great grievance, of which the whole kingdom complains? I am inclined to think, that my intelligence was, at leaſt, as good as his; and ſome of it, I can aſſure him, came from perſons of his own party, although, perhaps, not altogether ſo inflamed. Hitherto, therefore, the matter is pretty equal, and the world may believe him, or me, as they pleaſe. But I think, the great point of controverſy between us, is, whether the effects and conſequences of things follow better from his premiſes, or mine? And there I will not be ſatisfied, unleſs he will allow the whole advantage to be on my ſide. Here is a flouriſhing kingdom, brought to the brink of ruin by a moſt ſucceſsful and glorious war of ten years, under an able, diligent, and loyal miniſtry, a moſt faithful, juſt, and generous commander, and in conjunction with the moſt hearty, reaſonable, and

ſincere allies. This is the caſe, as that author repreſents it. I have heard a ſtory, I think it was of the Duke of ***, who, playing at hazard at the Groom-porter's in much company, held in a great many hands together, and drew a huge heap of gold; but, in the heat of play, never obſerved a ſharper, who came once or twice under his arm, and ſwept a great deal of it into his hat; the company thought it had been one of his ſervants. When the Duke's hand was out, they were talking how much he had won. Yes, ſaid he, I held in very long; yet, methinks, I have won but very little. They told him, his ſervant had got the reſt in his hat; and then he found he was cheated.

It hath been my good fortune, to ſee the moſt important facts that I have advanced, juſtified by the public voice; which, let this author do what he can, will incline the world to believe, that I may be right in the reſt. And I ſolemnly declare, that I have not, wilfully, committed the leaſt miſtake. I ſtopt the ſecond edition, and made all poſſible enquiries, among thoſe, who, I thought, could beſt inform me, in order to correct any error I could hear of; I did the ſame to the third and fourth editions, and then left the printer to his liberty. This I take for a more effectual anſwer to all cavils, than an hundred pages of controverſy.

But, what diſguſts me, from having any thing to do with this race of anſwer-jobbers, is, that they have no ſort of conſcience in their dealings. To give one inſtance in this gentleman's third part, which I have been lately looking into: When I talk of the moſt

moſt petty princes, he ſays, that I mean crowned heads: When I ſay, the ſoldiers of thoſe petty princes are ready to rob, or ſtarve at home; he ſays, I call kings and crowned heads robbers and highwaymen. This is what the *whigs* call, anſwering a book.

I cannot omit one particular, concerning this author, who is ſo poſitive in aſſerting his own facts, and contradicting mine: he affirms, that the buſineſs of Thoulon was diſcovered by the clerk of a certain great man, who was then ſecretary of ſtate. It is neither wiſe, nor for the credit of his party, to put us in mind of that ſecretary, or of that clerk; however, ſo it happens, that nothing relating to the affair of Thoulon did ever paſs through that ſecretary's office: which I here affirm with great phlegm, leaving the epithets of falſe, ſcandalous, villainous, and the reſt, to the author and his fellows.

But, to leave this author; let us conſider the conſequence of our triumphs, upon which ſome ſet ſo great a value, as to think, that nothing leſs than the crown, can be a ſufficient reward for the merit of the General. We have not enlarged our dominions by one foot of land: our trade, which made us conſiderable in the world, is either given up by treaties, or clogged with duties, which interrupt, and daily leſſen it. We ſee the whole nation groaning under exceſſive taxes of all ſorts, to raiſe three millions of money, for payment of the intereſt of thoſe debts we have contracted. Let us look upon the reverſe of the medal; we ſhall ſee our neighbours, who, in their utmoſt di-

ſtreſs, called for our aſſiſtance, become, by this treaty, even in time of peace, maſters of a more conſiderable country than their own; in a condition to ſtrike terror into us, with fifty thouſand *veterans*, ready to invade us, from that country which we have conquered for them; and to commit inſolent hoſtilities upon us, in all other parts, as they have lately done in the Eaſt-Indies.

The BARRIER TREATY, *between* HER MAJESTY *and the* STATES-GENERAL.

" HER Majeſty the Queen of Great-Britain, " and the Lords the States-General of the " United Provinces, having conſidered how much " it concerns the quiet and ſecurity of their king- " doms and ſtates, and the public tranquillity, to " maintain and to ſecure on one ſide, the ſucceſ- " ſion to the crown of Great-Britain, in ſuch man- " ner as it is now eſtabliſhed by the laws of the " kingdom; and, on the other ſide, that the States- " General of the united provinces ſhould have a " ſtrong and ſufficient barrier againſt France and " others, who would ſurpriſe or attack them: " and her Majeſty and the States-General, appre- " hending, with juſt reaſon, the troubles and the " miſchiefs which may happen in relation to this " ſucceſſion, if, at any time, there ſhould be any " perſon, or any power, who ſhould call it in " queſtion; and that the countries and ſtates of " the ſaid Lords the States-General were not fur- " niſhed with ſuch a barrier: for theſe ſaid rea- " ſons, her ſaid Majeſty the Queen of Great-Bri- " tain,

"tain, although in the vigour of her age, and "enjoying perfect health (in which may God pre- "ſerve her many years) out of an effect of her "uſual prudence and piety, has thought fit to en- "ter, with the Lords the States-General of the "united provinces, into a particular alliance and "confederacy, the principal end and only aim of "which ſhall be, the public quiet and tranquilli- "ty; and to prevent, by meaſures taken in time, "all the events which might one day excite new "war. It is with this view, that her Britiſh Ma- "jeſty has given her full power, to agree upon "ſome articles of a treaty, in addition to the trea- "ties and alliances that ſhe hath already with the "Lords the States-General of the united provin "ces, to her ambaſſador extraordinary and pleni- "potentiary, Charles Viſcount Townſhend, Baron "of Lyne-Regis, Privy Counſellor to her Britiſh "Majeſty, Captain of her ſaid Majeſty's Yeomen "of the guard, and her Lieutenant in the county "of Norfolk; and the Lords the States-General "of the united provinces, the Sieurs John de Wel- "deren, Lord of Valburgh, great Bailiff of the "Lower Betewe, of the body of the nobility of "the province of Guelder; Frederic, Baron of "Reede, Lord of Lier, St. Anthony, and T'er "Lee, of the order of the nobility of the pro- "vince of Holland and Weſt Friezeland; An- "thony Heinſius, Counſellor-Penſionary of the "province of Holland and Weſt-Friezeland, "Keeper of the Great Seal, and Superintendant "of the fiefs of the ſame province; Cornelius

" Van Gheet, Lord of Spranbrook, Bulkeſteyn, &c.
" Gedeon Hoeuft, Canon of the Chapter of the
" church of St. Peter at Utrecht, and elected
" Counſellor in the States of the province of Ut-
" recht; Haſſel Van Sminia, Secretary of the
" chamber of the accounts of the province of
" Friezeland; Erneſt Itterſum, Lord of Oſterbof,
" of the body of the nobility of the province of
" Overyſſel; and Wicher Wichers, Senator of the
" city of Groningen; all deputies to the aſſembly
" of the ſaid Lords the States-General, on the one
" part, reſpectively, of the provinces of Guelder,
" Holland, Weſt-Friezeland, Zeland, Utrecht,
" Friezeland, Overyſſel, and Groningen, and Om-
" melands, who, by virtue of their full powers,
" have agreed upon the following articles."

ART. I. THE treaties of peace, friendſhip, alliance, and confederacy, between her Britannic Majeſty and the States-General of the united provinces, ſhall be approved and confirmed by the preſent treaty, and ſhall remain in their former force and vigour, as if they were inſerted word for word.

ART. II. The ſucceſſion to the crown of England, having been ſettled by an act of parliament, paſſed the twelfth year of the reign of his late Majeſty King William III. the title of which is, *An act for the further limitation of the crown, and better ſecuring the rights and liberties of the ſubject*; and, lately, in the ſixth year of the reign of her preſent Majeſty, this ſucceſſion having been again eſtabliſh-

ed

ed and confirmed, by another act, made for the greater ſecurity of her Majeſty's perſon and government, and the ſucceſſion to the crown of Great-Britain, &c. in the line of the moſt ſerene houſe of Hanover, and in the perſon of the princeſs Sophia, and of her heirs, ſucceſſors, and deſcendents, male and female, already born, or to be born: and, although no power hath any right to oppoſe the laws made upon this ſubject, by the crown and parliament of Great-Britain; if it ſhall happen, nevertheleſs, that, under any pretence, or by any cauſe whatever, any perſon, or any power or ſtate, may pretend to diſpute the eſtabliſhment which the parliament hath made of the aforeſaid ſucceſſion, in the moſt ſerene houſe of Hanover, to oppoſe the ſaid ſucceſſion, to aſſiſt or favour thoſe who may oppoſe it, whether directly or indirectly, by open war, or by fomenting ſeditions and conſpiracies, againſt her or him to whom the crown of Great-Britain ſhall deſcend, according to the acts aforeſaid; the States-General engage and promiſe, to aſſiſt and maintain in the ſaid ſucceſſion, her or him to whom it ſhall belong, by virtue of the ſaid acts of parliament, to aſſiſt them in taking poſſeſſion, if they ſhould not be in actual poſſeſſion, and to oppoſe thoſe who would diſturb them in the taking ſuch poſſeſſion, or in the actual poſſeſſion of the aforeſaid ſucceſſion.

ART. III. Her ſaid Majeſty and the States-General, in conſequence of the fifth article of the alliance concluded between the Emperor, the late King

King of Great-Britain, and the States-General, the 7th of September 1701, will employ all their force to recover the reſt of the Spaniſh Low Countries.

ART. IV. And further, they will endeavour to conquer as many towns and forts as they can, in order to their being a barrier and ſecurity to the ſaid States.

ART. V. And whereas, according to the ninth article of the ſaid alliance, it is to be agreed, amongſt other matters, how and in what manner the States ſhall be made ſafe, by means of this barrier, the Queen of Great-Britain will uſe her endeavours to procure, that, in the treaty of peace, it may be agreed, that all the Spaniſh Low Countries, and what elſe may be found neceſſary, whether conquered or unconquered places, ſhall ſerve as a barrier to the States.

ART. VI. That, to this end, their High Mightineſſes ſhall have the liberty, to put and keep garriſon, to change, augment, and diminiſh it, as they ſhall judge proper, in the places following: namely, Newport, Furnes, with the fort of Knocke, Ypres, Menin, the town and citadel of Liſle, Tournay and its citadel, Conde, Valenciennes; and the places which ſhall, from henceforward, be conquered from France, Maubeuge, Charleroy, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify the ports of Perle, Philippe, Damme, the caſtle of Gand, and Dendermonde. The fort of St. Donas, being joined to the fortification of the Sluice, and being entirely incorporated with it, ſhall remain and be yielded

yielded in property to the States. The fort of Redenhuyſen, on this ſide Gand, ſhall be demoliſhed.

ART. VII. The ſaid States-General may, in caſe of an apparent attack, or war, put as many troops as they ſhall think neceſſary, in all the towns, places, and forts, in the Spaniſh Low-Countries, where the reaſon of war ſhall require it.

ART. VIII. They may likewiſe ſend into the towns, forts, and places, where they ſhall have their garriſons, without any hindrance, and without paying any duties, proviſions, ammunitions of war, arms, and artillery, materials for the fortifications, and all that ſhall be found convenient and neceſſary, for the ſaid garriſons and fortifications.

ART. IX. The ſaid States-General ſhall alſo have liberty to appoint in the towns, forts, and places of their barrier, mentioned in the foregoing ſixth article, where they may have garriſons, ſuch governors and commanders, majors, and other officers as they ſhall find proper, who ſhall not be ſubject to any other orders, whatſoever they may be, or from whenceſoever they may come, relating to the ſecurity and military government of the ſaid places, but only to thoſe of their High Mightineſſes (excluſive of all others;) ſtill preſerving the rights and privileges, as well eccleſiaſtical as political, of King Charles III.

ART. X. That, beſides, the States ſhall have liberty to fortify the ſaid towns, places, and forts, which belong to them, and repair the fortifications of them, in ſuch manner as they ſhall judge neceſſary;

ceſſary; and further to do whatever ſhall be uſeful for their defence.

ART. XI. It is agreed, that the States-General ſhall have all the revenues of the towns, places, juriſdictions, and their dependencies, which they ſhall have for their barrier from France, which were not in the poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain, at the time of the death of the late K. Charles II. and, beſides, a million of livres ſhall be ſettled, for the payment of one hundred thouſand crowns, every three months, out of the cleareſt revenues of the Spaniſh Low Countries, which the ſaid King was then in poſſeſſion of; both which are for maintaining the garriſons of the States, and for ſupplying the fortifications, as alſo the magazines, and other neceſſary expences, in the towns and places above-mentioned. And, that the ſaid revenues may be ſufficient to ſupport theſe expences, endeavours ſhall be uſed, for enlarging the dependencies and juriſdictions aforeſaid, as much as poſſible; and, particularly, for including with the juriſdiction of Ypres, that of Caſſel, and the foreſt of Niepe; and with the juriſdiction of Liſle, the juriſdiction of Douay, both having been ſo joined before the preſent war.

ART. XII. That no town, fort, place, or country of the Spaniſh Low Countries, ſhall be granted, transferred, or given, or deſcend to the crown of France, or any of the line of France, neither by virtue of any gift, ſale, exchange, marriage, agreement, inheritance, ſucceſſion by will, or through

through want of will, from no title whatſoever, nor in any other manner whatſoever, nor be put into the power, or under the authority of the Moſt Chriſtian King, or any one of the line of France.

ART. XIII. And whereas the ſaid States-General, in conſequence of the ninth article of the ſaid alliance, are to make a convention or treaty with King Charles III. for putting the States in a condition of ſafety, by means of the ſaid barrier, the Queen of Great-Britain will do what depends upon her, that all the foregoing particulars, relating to the barrier of the States, may be inſerted in the aforeſaid treaty or convention: and that her ſaid Majeſty will continue her good offices, until the above-mentioned convention, between the States and the ſaid King Charles III. be concluded, agreeably to what is before-mentioned; and that her Majeſty will be guarantee of the ſaid treaty or convention.

ART. XIV. And, that the ſaid States may enjoy, from henceforward, as much as poſſible, a barrier from the Spaniſh Low Countries, they ſhall be permitted to put their garriſons in the towns already taken, and which may hereafter be ſo, before the peace be concluded and ratified. And, in the mean time, the ſaid King Charles III. ſhall not be allowed to enter into poſſeſſion of the ſaid Spaniſh Low Countries, neither entirely nor in part: and, during that time, the Queen ſhall aſſiſt their High Mightineſſes, to maintain them in the enjoyment of the revenues, and to find the million of livres a-year, above-mentioned.

ART.

ART. XV. And whereas their High Mightineſſes have ſtipulated, by the treaty of Munſter, in the fourteenth article, that the river Scheld, as alſo the canals of Sas, Swan, and other mouths of the ſea, bordering thereupon, ſhould be kept ſhut on the ſide of the States:

And, in the fifteenth article, that the ſhips and commodities going in and coming out of the harbours of Flanders, ſhall be, and remain charged with all ſuch impoſts, and other duties as are raiſed upon commodities going and coming along the Scheld, and the other canals abovementioned.

The Queen of Great-Britain promiſes and engages, that their High Mightineſſes ſhall never be diſturbed in their right and poſſeſſion in that reſpect, neither directly or indirectly; as alſo, that the commerce ſhall not, in prejudice of the ſaid treaty, be made more eaſy by the ſea-ports, than by the rivers, canals, and mouths of the ſea, on the ſide of the States of the united provinces, neither directly or indirectly.

And whereas, by the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth articles of the ſame treaty of Munſter, his Majeſty the King of Spain is obliged to treat the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes, as favourably as the ſubjects of Great-Britain and the Hans towns, who were then the people moſt favourably treated; her Britannic Majeſty and their High Mightineſſes promiſe likewiſe, to take care that their High Mightineſſes ſhall be treated in the Spaniſh Low-Countries, as well as in Spain, the kingdoms and ſtates belonging

elonging to it, equally, and as well the one as he other, as the people moſt favoured.

ART. XVI. The ſaid Queen and States-General oblige themſelves to furniſh, by ſea and land, he ſuccours and aſſiſtance neceſſary to maintain by force her ſaid Majeſty in the quiet poſſeſſion of her kingdoms; and the moſt ſerene houſe of Hanover in the ſaid ſucceſſion, in the manner it is ettled by the acts of parliament before mentioned; and to maintain the ſaid States-General in he poſſeſſion of the ſaid barrier.

ART. XVII. After the ratifications of the reaty, a particular convention ſhall be made of he conditions, by which the ſaid Queen, and the aid Lords the States-General, will engage themelves, to furniſh the ſuccours which ſhall be hought neceſſary, as well by ſea as by land.

ART. XVIII. If her Britiſh Majeſty, or the States-General of the united provinces, be attacked by any body whatſoever, by reaſon of this convention, they ſhall mutually aſſiſt one another with all their forces, and become guarantees of he execution of the ſaid convention.

ART. XIX. There ſhall be invited and admitted into the preſent treaty, as ſoon as poſſible, all the kings, princes, and ſtates, who ſhall be willing to enter into the ſame, particularly his Imperial Majeſty, the Kings of Spain and Pruſia, and the Elector of Hanover. And her Britiſh Majeſty and the States-General of the united provinces, and each of them in particular, ſhall

be permitted to require and invite thoſe whom they ſhall think fit to require and invite, to enter into this treaty, and to be guarantees of its execution.

ART. XX. And as time hath ſhewn the omiſſion which was made in the treaty ſigned at Ryſwick in the year 1697, between England and France, in reſpect of the right of the ſucceſſion of England in the perſon of her Majeſty the Queen of Great-Britain, now reigning; and that, for want of having ſettled in that treaty this indiſputable right of her Majeſty, France refuſed to acknowlege her for Queen of Great Britain, after the death of the late K. William III. of glorious memory: her Majeſty the Queen of Great-Britain, and the Lords the States-General of the united provinces, do agree, and engage themſelves likewiſe, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the title of her Majeſty to the crown of Great-Britain, as alſo, the right of ſucceſſion of the moſt ſerene houſe of Hanover to the aforeſaid crown, in the manner it is ſettled and eſtabliſhed by the before mentioned acts of parliament, be fully acknowledged as a preliminary by France; and that France hath promiſed, at the ſame time, to remove out of its dominions the perſon who pretends to be King of Great-Britain; and that no negotiation, or formal diſcuſſions of the articles of the ſaid treaty of peace, ſhall be entered into, but jointly, and at the ſame time with the ſaid Queen, or with her miniſters.

ART.

r. XXI. Her Britiſh Majeſty, and the the States-General of the united provinces, tify and confirm all that is contained in ſent treaty, within the ſpace of four weeks, eckoned from the day of the ſigning. In ny whereof, the under written ambaſſador dinary and plenipotentiary of her Britiſh y, and the deputies of the Lords the General, have ſigned this preſent treaty, ve affixed their ſeals thereunto.

Hague, the 29th of October, in the year 1709.

(*L. S.*) *Townſhend.*
(*L. S.*) *J. B. Van Reede.*
(*L. S.*) *G. Hoeuft.*
(*L. S.*) *E. V. Itterſum.*
(*L. S.*) *J. V. Welderen.*
(*L. S.*) *A. Heinſius.*
(*L. S.*) *H. Sminia.*
(*L. S.*) *W. Wichers.*

HE SEPARATE ARTICLE.

S in the preliminary articles, ſigned here at the Hague, the 28th of May 1709, e plenipotentiaries of his Imperial Maje- f her Majeſty the Queen of Great Britain, of the Lords the States-General of the d provinces, it is ſtipulated, amongſt other s, that the Lords the States-General ſhall with entire property and ſovereignty, the quarter of Guelder, according to the ſecond article of the treaty of Munſter,

" of the year 1648; as alſo, that the garriſons " which are, or hereafter ſhall be, on the part of " the Lords the States-General in the town of " Huy, the citadel of Liege, and in the town of " Bonne, ſhall remain there, until it ſhall be o- " therwiſe agreed upon with his Imperial Maje- " ſty and the empire: and as the barrier, which " is this day agreed upon in the principal treaty " for the mutual guarantee between her Britiſh " Majeſty and the Lords the States-General, " cannot give to the united provinces the ſafety " for which it is eſtabliſhed, unleſs it be well ſe- " cured from one end to the other, and that the " communication of it be well joined together, " for which the upper quarter of Guelder, and " the garriſons in the citadel of Liege, Huy, and " Bonne, are abſolutely neceſſary: (experience " having thrice ſhewn, that France having a de- " ſign to attack the united provinces, has made " uſe of the places above mentioned, in order to " come at them, and to penetrate into the ſaid " provinces.) And further, as, in reſpect to the " equivalent for which the upper quarter of " Guelder is to be yielded to the united pro- " vinces, according to the fifty ſecond article of " the treaty of Munſter, above mentioned, his " Majeſty King Charles III. will be much more " gratified and advantaged in other places, than " that equivalent can avail: to the end, there- " fore, that the Lords the States-General may " have the upper quarter of Guelder, with entire " property and ſovereignty; and that the ſaid

" upper

" upper quarter of Guelder may be yielded in " this manner to the ſaid Lords the States-Ge- " neral, in the convention, or the treaty that they " are to make with his Majeſty King Charles III. " according to the thirteenth article of the trea- " ty concluded this day; as alſo, that their gar- " riſons in the citadel of Liege, in that of Huy, " and in Bonne, may remain there, until it be " otherwiſe agreed upon with his Imperial Ma- " jeſty and the Empire; her Majeſty the Queen " of Great Britain engages herſelf, and promiſes, " by this ſeparate article, which ſhall have the " ſame force as if it were inſerted in the princi- " pal treaty, to make the ſame efforts for all this, " as ſhe hath engaged herſelf to make for the ob- " taining the barrier in the Spaniſh Low Coun- " tries. In teſtimony whereof, the under-writ- " ten ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipoten- " tiary of her Britiſh Majeſty, and deputies of the " Lords the States-General, have ſigned the pre- " ſent ſeparate article, and have affixed their " ſeals thereunto."

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(L. S.) Townſhend.
(L. S.) J. B. Van Reede.
(L. S.) G. Hoeuft.
(L. S.) E. V. Itterſum.
(L. S.) J. V. Welderen.
(L. S.) A. Heinſius.
(L. S.) H. Sminia.
(L. S.) W. Wichers.

THE SECOND SEPARATE ARTICLE.

" AS the Lords the States-General have re-
" repreſented, that, in Flanders, the li-
" mits between Spaniſh Flanders and that of the
" States, are ſettled in ſuch a manner, as that
" the land belonging to the States is extremely
" narrow there; ſo that, in ſome places, the
" territory of Spaniſh Flanders extends itſelf to
" the fortifications, and under the cannon of the
" places, towns, and forts of the States, which
" occaſions many inconveniencies, as hath been
" ſeen by an example, a little before the begin-
" ning of the preſent war, when a fort was de-
" ſigned to have been built under the cannon of
" the Sas Van Gand, under the pretence, that it
" was upon the territory of Spain: and as it is
" neceſſary, for avoiding theſe, and other ſorts of
" inconveniencies, that the land of the States,
" upon the confines of Flanders, ſhould be en-
" larged, and that the places, towns, and forts
" ſhould, by that means, be better covered: her
" Britiſh Majeſty, entering into the juſt motives
" of the ſaid Lords the States-General in this
" reſpect, promiſes and engages herſelf, by this
" ſeparate article, that, in the convention which
" the ſaid Lords the States-General are to make
" with his Majeſty King Charles III. ſhe will aſ-
" ſiſt them, as that it may be agreed, that, by
" the ceſſion to the ſaid Lords the States-Ge-
" neral of the property of an extent of land ne-
" ceſſary to obviate ſuch like, and other inconve-
" niencies,

"niencies, their limits in Flanders ſhall be en-
"larged more conveniently for their ſecurity;
"and thoſe of the Spaniſh Flanders removed far-
"ther from their towns, places and forts, to the
"end that theſe may not be ſo expoſed any more.
"In teſtimony whereof, the under-written am-
"baſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of
"her Britiſh Majeſty, and deputies of the Lords
"the States-General, have ſigned the preſent
"ſeparate article, and have affixed their ſeals
"thereunto."

At the Hague, the 29th of October 1709.

(*L. S.*) *Townſhend.*
(*L. S.*) *J. B. Van Reede.*
(*L. S.*) *A. Heinſius.*
(*L. S.*) *G. Hoeuft.*
(*L. S.*) *H. Sminia.*
(*L. S.*) *E. V. Itterſum.*

The ARTICLES *of the* COUNTER-PROJECT, *which were ſtruck out, or altered by the* DUTCH, *in the* BARRIER-TREATY; *with ſome* Remarks.

ART. VI. TO this end, their High Mightineſſes ſhall have power to put and keep garriſons in the following places, *viz.* Newport, Knocke, Menin, the citadel of Liſle, Tournay, Conde, Valenciennes, Namur and its citadel, Lier, Halle, to fortify the fort of Perle, Damme, and the caſtle of Gand.

REMARKS. In the barrier-treaty, the States added the following places to thoſe mentioned in this article, *viz.* Furnes, Ypres, towns of Liſle,

Liſle, Maubeuge, Charlercy, Philippe, fort of St. Donas, (which is to be in property to the States) and the fort of Rodenhuyſen to be demoliſhed. To ſay nothing of the other places, Dendermond is the key of all Brabant; and the demoliſhing of the fort of Rodenhuyſen, ſituate between Gand and Sas Van Gand, can only ſerve to defraud the King of Spain of the duties upon goods imported and exported there.

ART. VII. The ſaid States may put into the ſaid towns, forts, and places, and in caſe of open war with France, into all the other towns, places, and forts, whatever troops the reaſon of war ſhall require.

REMARKS. But, in the barrier-treaty, it is ſaid, *In caſe of an apparent attack or war*, without ſpecifying againſt France: neither is the number of troops limited to what the reaſon of war ſhall require, but what the States ſhall think neceſſary.

ART. IX. Beſides ſome ſmaller differences, ends with a ſalvo, not only for the eccleſiaſtical and civil rights of the King of Spain, but likewiſe for his revenues in the ſaid towns; which revenues, in the barrier-treaty, are all given to the States.

ART. XI. The revenues of the chatellanies, and dependencies of the towns and places which the States ſhall have for their barrier againſt France, and which were not in the poſſeſſion of the crown of Spain, at the late King of Spain's death,

death, ſhall be ſettled, to be a fund for maintaining garriſons, and providing for the fortifications and magazines, and other neceſſary charges of the ſaid towns of the barrier.

REMARKS. I deſire the reader to compare this with the eleventh article of the barrier-treaty, where he will ſee how prodigiouſly it is enlarged.

ART. XIV. All this to be without prejudice to ſuch other treaties and conventions, as the Queen of Great-Britain and their High Mightineſſes may think fit to make for the future with the ſaid King Charles III. relating to the ſaid Spaniſh Netherlands, or to the ſaid barrier.

ART. XV. And, to the end that the ſaid States may enjoy at preſent, as much as it is poſſible, a barrier in the Spaniſh Netherlands, they ſhall be permitted to put their garriſons in the chief towns, already taken, or that may be taken, before a peace be made.

REMARKS. Theſe two articles are not in the barrier-treaty, but two others in their ſtead; to which I refer the reader. And indeed it was highly neceſſary for the Dutch to ſtrike out the former of theſe articles, when ſo great a part of the treaty is ſo highly and manifeſtly prejudicial to Great-Britain, as well as to the King of Spain; eſpecially in the two articles inſerted in the place of theſe, which I deſire the reader will examine.

ART.

ART. XX. And whereas, by the fifth and ninth articles of the alliance, between the Emperor, the late King of Great-Britain and the States-General, concluded the 7th of September 1701, it is agreed and ſtipulated, that the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, ſhall be recovered from the poſſeſſion of France, as being of the laſt conſequence to the trade of both nations, as well as the Spaniſh Netherlands, for a barrier for the States-General; therefore, the ſaid Queen of Great-Britain, and the States-General, agree and oblige themſelves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before the reſtitution of the ſaid kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, with all the dependencies of the crown of Spain in Italy, as well as the Spaniſh Low-Countries, with the other towns and places in the poſſeſſion of France, above-mentioned in this treaty, and alſo after the manner ſpecified in this treaty; as likewiſe, all the reſt of the entire monarchy of Spain, be yielded by France as a preliminary.

ART. XXII. And whereas experience hath ſhewn, of what importance it is to Great-Britain and the United Provinces, that the fortreſs and port of Dunkirk ſhould not be in the poſſeſſion of France, in the condition they are at preſent; the ſubjects of both nations having undergone ſuch great loſſes, and ſuffered ſo much in their trade, by the prizes taken from them by privateers ſet out from that port; inſomuch, that France,

by

by her unmeaſureable ambition, may be always tempted to make ſome enterpriſes upon the territories of the Queen of Great-Britain and their High Mightineſſes, and interrupt the public repoſe and tranquillity, for the preſervation of which, and the balance of Europe, againſt the exorbitant power of France, the allies engaged themſelves in this long and burthenſome war; therefore, the ſaid Queen of Great-Britain, and their High Mightineſſes, agree, and oblige themſelves, not to enter into any negotiation or treaty of peace with France, before it ſhall be yielded and ſtipulated by France as a preliminary, that all the fortifications of the ſaid town of Dunkirk, and the forts that depend upon it, be entirely demoliſhed and razed, and that the port be entirely ruined, and rendered impracticable.

REMARKS. Theſe two articles are likewiſe omitted in the barrier-treaty: whereof the firſt regards particularly the intereſts of the houſe of Auſtria; and the other about demoliſhing Dunkirk thoſe of Great-Britain. It is ſomething ſtrange, that the late miniſtry, whoſe advocates raiſe ſuch a clamour about the neceſſity of recovering Spain from the houſe of Bourbon, ſhould ſuffer the Dutch to ſtrike out this article, which I think clearly ſhews the reaſon why the States never troubled themſelves with the thoughts of reducing Spain, or even recovering Milan, Naples, and Sicily to the Emperor; but were wholly fixed upon the conqueſt of Flanders, becauſe they had determined

determined thoſe provinces as a property for themſelves.

As for the article about demoliſhing of Dunkirk, I am not at all ſurpriſed to find it ſtruck out; the deſtruction of that place, although it would be uſeful to the States, doth more nearly import Britain; and was, therefore, a point that ſuch miniſters could more eaſily get over.

The SENTIMENTS of PRINCE EUGENE of *Savoy*, and of the COUNT DE SINZENDORF, relating to the Barrier of the States-General, to the upper quarter of *Guelder*, and to the towns of the Electorate of *Cologn*, and of the Biſhopric of *Liege*.

ALTHOUGH the orders and inſtructions of the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, upon the matters above-mentioned, do not go ſo far, as to give directions for what follows; notwithſtanding, the Prince and Count above-mentioned, conſidering the preſent ſtate of affairs, are of the following opinion:

Firſt, that the counter-project of England, relating to the places where the States-General may put and keep garriſons, ought to be followed, except Lier, Halle to fortify, and the caſtle of Gand. Provided likewiſe, that the ſentiments of England be particularly conformed to, relating to Dendermond and Oſtend, as places in nowiſe belonging to the barrier; and which, as well as the caſtle of Gand,

Gand, can only ſerve to make the States-General maſters of the Low-Countries, and hinder trade with England. And as to Lier and Halle, thoſe who are acquainted with the country, know, that theſe towns cannot give any ſecurity to the States-General; but can only make people believe, that theſe places, being fortified, would rather ſerve to block up Bruſſels, and the other great cities of Brabant.

Secondly, As to what is ſaid in the ſeventh article of the counter-project of England, relating to the augmentation of garriſons in the towns of the barrier, in caſe of an open war; this is agreeable to the opinions of the ſaid Prince and Count: who think likewiſe, that there ought to be added to the eighth article, that no goods or merchandiſe ſhould be ſent into the towns where the States-General ſhall have garriſons, nor be comprehended under the names of ſuch things as the ſaid garriſons and fortifications ſhall have need of. And that to this end, the ſaid things ſhall be inſpected in thoſe places where they are to paſs; as likewiſe the quantity ſhall be ſettled that the garriſons may want.

Thirdly, As to the ninth article, relating to the governors and commanders of thoſe towns, forts, and places where the States-General ſhall have their garriſons; the ſaid Prince and Count are of opinion, that the ſaid governours and commanders ought to take an oath as well to the King of Spain as to the States-General: but they may take a particular oath to the latter, that they will not admit foreign troops without their conſent;

and that they will depend excluſively upon the ſaid States in whatever regards the military power. But at the ſame time, they ought excluſively to promiſe the king of Spain, that they will not intermeddle in the affairs of law, civil power, revenues, or any other matters eccleſiaſtical or civil, unleſs at the deſire of the King's officers to aſſiſt them in the execution; in which caſe, the ſaid commanders ſhould be obliged not to refuſe them.

Fourthly, As to the tenth article, there is nothing to be added, unleſs that the States-General may repair and encreaſe the fortifications of the towns, places and forts where they ſhall have their garriſons; but this at their own expence. Otherwiſe, under that pretext, they might ſeize all the revenues of the country.

Fifthly, As to the eleventh article, they think the States ought not to have the revenues of the chatellanies and dependencies of theſe towns and places, which are to be their barrier againſt France; this being a ſort of ſovereignty, and very prejudicial to the eccleſiaſtical and civil œconomy of the country. But the ſaid Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General ought to have, for the maintenance of their garriſons and fortifications, a ſum of money of a million and a half, or two millions of florins, which they ought to receive from the King's officers, who ſhall be ordered to pay that ſum before any other payment.

Sixthly, And the convention which ſhall be made on this affair between his Catholic Majeſty and the States-General, ſhall be for a limited time.

Theſe

Theſe are the utmoſt conditions to which the ſaid Prince and Count think it poſſible for his Catholic Majeſty to be brought; and they declare at the ſame time, that their Imperial and Catholic Majeſties will ſooner abandon the Low-Countries, than take them upon other conditions, which would be equally expenſive, ſhameful, and unacceptable to them.

On the other ſide, the ſaid Prince and Count are perſuaded, that the advantages at this time yielded to the States-General may hereafter be very prejudicial to themſelves; foraſmuch as they may put the people of the Spaniſh Netherlands to ſome dangerous extremity, conſidering the antipathy between the two nations; and that extending of frontiers is entirely contrary to the maxims of their government.

As to the upper quarter of Guelder, the ſaid Prince and Count are of opinion, that the States-General may be allowed the power of putting in garriſons into Venlo, Ruremond and Steffenſwaert, with orders to furniſh the ſaid States with the revenues of the country, which amount to one hundred thouſand florins.

As to Bonne, belonging to the Electorate of Cologn, Liege, and Huy to the biſhopric of Liege, it is to be underſtood, that theſe being *imperial* towns, it doth not depend upon the Emperor to conſent that foreign garriſons ſhould be placed in them upon any pretence whatſoever. But whereas the States-General demand them only for their ſecurity, it is propoſed to place in thoſe towns a

garriſon of *imperial* troops, of whom the States may be in no ſuſpicion, as they might be of a garriſon of an elector, who might poſſibly have views oppoſite to their intereſts. But this is propoſed only in caſe that it ſhall not be thought more proper to raze one or other of the ſaid towns.

The REPRESENTATION of the ENGLISH MERCHANTS at *Bruges*, relating to the Barrier-treaty.

DAVID WHITE, *and other Merchants, her Majeſty's ſubjects, reſiding at Bruges, and other towns in Flanders, crave leave humbly to repreſent,*

THAT whereas the cities of Liſle, Tournay, Menin, Douay, and other new conqueſts in Flanders and Artois, taken from the French this war, by the united forces of her Majeſty and her allies, are now become entirely under the government of the States-General; and that we her Majeſty's ſubjects may be made liable to ſuch duties and impoſitions on trade, as the ſaid States-General ſhall think fit to impoſe on us: We humbly hope and conceive, that it is her Majeſty's intention and deſign, that the trade of her dominions and ſubjects, which is carried on with theſe new conqueſts, may be on an equal foot with that of the ſubjects and dominions of the States-General, and not be liable to any new duty, when tranſported from the Spaniſh Netherlands to the ſaid new conqueſts, as, to our great ſurpriſe, is exacted

exacted from us on the following goods, *viz.* butter, tallow, ſalmon, hides, beef, and all other products of her Majeſty's dominions, which we import at Oſtend, and there pay the duty of entry to the king of Spain, and conſequently ought not to be liable to any new duty, when they carry the ſame goods, and all others, from their dominions, by a free paſs or *tranſire* to the ſaid new conqueſts: and we are under apprehenſion, that, if the ſaid new conqueſts be ſettled, or given entirely into the poſſeſſion of the States-General, for their barrier, (as we are made believe, by a treaty lately made by her Majeſty's ambaſſador, the Lord Viſcount Townſhend, at the Hague) that the States-General may alſo ſoon declare all goods and merchandiſes, which are contraband in their provinces, to be alſo contraband or prohibited in theſe new conqueſts, or new barrier; by which her Majeſty's ſubjects will be deprived of the ſale and conſumption of the following products of her Majeſty's dominions, which are, and have long been declared contraband in the united provinces, ſuch as Engliſh and Scots ſalt, malt ſpirits, or corn brandy, and all other ſorts of diſtilled Engliſh ſpirits, whale and rape oil, *&c.*

It is, therefore, humbly conceived, that her Majeſty, out of her great care, and gracious concern for the benefit of her ſubjects and dominions, may be pleaſed to direct, by a treaty of commerce, or ſome other way, that their trade may be put on an equal foot, in all the Spaniſh Netherlands, and the new conqueſts of barrier with the ſubjects of

of Holland, by paying no other duty than that of importation to the king of Spain; and, by a proviſion, that no product of her Majeſty's dominions ſhall ever be declared contraband in theſe new conqueſts, except ſuch goods as were eſteemed contraband before the death of Charles II. King of Spain. And it is alſo humbly prayed, that the product and manufacture of the new conqueſts may be alſo exported, without paying any new duty, beſides that of exportation at Oſtend, which was always paid to the king of Spain; it being impoſſible for any nation in Europe, to aſſort an entire cargo for the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies, without a conſiderable quantity of ſeveral of the manufactures of Liſle; ſuch as caradoros, cajant, picoſes, boratten, and many other goods.

The chief things to be demanded of France, are to be exempted from tonnage, to have a liberty of importing herrings, and all other fiſh, to France, on the ſame terms as the Dutch do, and as was agreed by them at the treaty of commerce, immediately after the treaty of peace at Ryſwick. The enlarging her Majeſty's plantations in America, &c. is naturally recommended.

END OF VOL. II.